













THE  
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AND  
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

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“—FIAT JUSTITIA,—”

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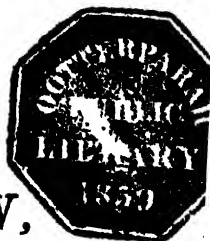


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SEPTEMBER, 1821.

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ART. I.—*Hints for conducting Sunday Schools, useful also for Day Schools and Families.* Compiled by the Committee of the Sunday School Society for Ireland. Second Edition. Hatchard. London, 1819.

THE present spirit of education, its means, and its execution, have often distinctly and incidentally attracted our notice. What heart, indeed, can meditate unmoved on the busy bustling scene of moral reform, which every where agitates society to its very bottom? The lever is already under its old foundations, and modern enterprise has pledged itself to elevate the entire structure. If knowledge is power, and power is happiness, the principle of this great and imposing effort is broad, and safe, and unperplexed with doubts. Scatter universally the unequivocal blessing, fill the land with schools, give the presses unrestricted range, and let it be considered among the birth-rights of Britons, however poor, to be placed upon an intellectual equality with the richest of their fellow subjects. When we look, however, with sober thoughts, and with minds undazzled by specious maxims, and magnificent generalities, to the practical condition of man, and the natural and moral constitution of society, certain simple verities will be apt to cool down these high and glowing expectations, and induce us to doubt whether, after all, an artificial system, not in harmony with those relations which inevitably spring out of the necessities of the social state, may not tend to dislocation and disorder, if not to subversion, revolt, and ruin.

If, indeed, it were practicable to make a liberal education universal, and to make the fruits of it attainable by all alike, whether the state of things produced by this new posture of human affairs would issue ultimately in an increase of happiness and virtue, may be variously argued, and must ever be doubtful;

but it seems but too probable to the reasoner from observation and experience, that to set the understandings of men upon inquiries which neither station, nor opportunity, nor duty, will allow to be prosecuted with effect, will tend only to warp the members of society out of their natural places, to foment a spirit of repining, to inflate the mind with arrogance, and sour the temper by disappointment.

That the position of society should be such as to leave the avenues to knowledge, and the access to preferments, open to industry and talent, no reasonable man will dispute; it is scarcely a state of moral freedom where there is no arena for the pure display of merit, and where the fair opportunities of distinction are denied to humble circumstances; but it may be allowed to cautious men like ourselves, to question the advantage of an education for the poor, which proceeds upon the principle that all knowledge, under all circumstances, is a positive good; and that whatever partial mischiefs may arise from occasional abuses, to scatter instruction promiscuously and gratuitously among the mass, irrespectively of all specific and appropriate culture, is to increase the sum of social felicity, and to urge on the moral progression of mankind. This seems to us to be a vain and perilous doctrine. When instruction has a special designation towards what is obviously needful and applicable, its foundation is moral, its progress is steady, and its end is salutary; but when an education is tendered to the poor, the philosophical promise of which is to expand their minds, to constitute them reasoners, to put their understandings upon a level with complex subjects, and to bring them acquainted, as is sometimes speciously said, with their constitutional privileges, we believe in our consciences that the scheme is delusive and dangerous, full of treacherous flattery to those to whom the boon is offered, and disguising much substantial evil under one knows not what magnificent speculations of extended and eventual benefit. Instruction should have a definable and ostensible purpose; so that if the child should happen to ask his instructor "What am I to do with this education?" it may be readily pointed out to him in what way he may turn it to practical and beneficial account in the course of life naturally and probably marked out to him. It cannot be too liberal or intellectual for those to whom high station may be proposed as the prize of their industry, or whose birth or leisure afford them the opportunities of speculative and diffusive research; but it is the idlest and the vainest of all things to put the whole mass of the people under a stimulating process; and, for the sake of some possible discoveries of latent genius, of some accidental disclosures of shining substances lurking in the recesses of life's vast quarry, or of the vague expectation of some general results favourable to truth and science from the agitation of the whole in-

tellectual world, to risk the too probable consequence of troubling the order of life and the natural dispositions of society. If a tradesman were to begin with educating his family for the learned professions, and to end in placing them in his own business, he would in all likelihood be laying the foundation of discontent, disorder, and domestic misfortune. It will be the same on the larger scale of the public economy. The aptitude of the man to his station, whatever the station be, gives to society an useful and efficient member; while every ill assortment in these dispositions of life is sure to disturb, in a greater or less degree, its equilibrium and its symmetry. It produces a similar confusion to that which would be the consequence to an army of teaching the common soldiers the duties of a commander. Trace back the lives of those restless men, the libellers of their government, and the fomenters of discontents and disorders among the people; and it will be found that they are chiefly those who, though not well instructed in any thing, have been converted into excrescences upon the body politic, by being taught just enough to make them start out of their natural places, to overshoot their own proper business, and to carry disorder into the departments of others. Life is short, and learning is tedious: it is, therefore, important that those who are to live by their labour should receive that instruction, and only that, which is accommodated to its demands, and which sweetens and refreshes its intermissions.

We are conscious that in this reasoning, which on various occasions has appeared in our journal, especially in an article\* on the means of national improvement, we do not go with the great stream of popular opinion. Much as we have read since the article alluded to on the importance of removing popular ignorance, we continue to think that the only proper, the only practicable education for the poor, is that which has a direct specific and single tendency to bring them within the more decided influence of Christian principles, to make them better proficient in the science of what belongs to their peace, and to raise them in the moral scale, not by the teaching which proffers illumination, but by that which inculcates prudence; not by that which disposes them to meddle with the duties of others, but by that which binds their own upon their consciences.

We have been much amused with an apology contained in the preface to an essay on the importance of making haste to remove the ignorance of the people, for the frequent use of the phrases "lower orders," "subordinate classes," "inferior portions of society." If there is a necessity for the use of these terms, which the writer acknowledges, is not that reason enough to justify their



adoption? Why lament the necessity of using right, and such they must be if necessary, terms? In spite of all we can do, there must and will be higher and "lower orders." In spite of all we can teach, there must be, until the bonds of civil union are dissolved, "subordinate classes," and "an inferior portion of society." We look upon the great error of the present educating mania to consist in this, that it is fancifully and furiously bent upon leveling these stubborn distinctions, by asserting the rights of scholarship in behalf of those who want quite another sort of care, and the recognition of much superior rights. To teach the portion of the people alluded to that they are really, and in a moral, political, and religious sense, the "subordinate classes," to make them feel this relation as such in all its latitude, to make them alive to the obligations it imposes upon them, to impress upon them the connexion by which they are integrally incorporated with the whole system to which they belong,—this it is which will improve in them the grounds of a just self-estimate, without the danger of unsettling principles, or engendering discontent.

But it would be to mistake us egregiously to suppose us at issue with the advocates for the promiscuous diffusion of knowledge, on the bare proposition that knowledge is a blessing to all orders and degrees: what we maintain is this, that instruction, to be beneficial, must have reference to the condition, the means, the opportunities, and the place in society of those on whom it is bestowed. This we say is especially true of it when it is taken up nationally, and as a great public measure; for then, in analogy to all other such political expedients, it must be calculated upon the collective interests of the whole community, and not upon a concession of individual or original rights, however liberal or philosophical such a theory may sound. It may be very liberal and philosophical to wish that knowledge might be poured out without measure among the people; but he that reflects upon the natural state of human beings, and the stubborn allotments of civil life, will controul that wish by a due regard to the capacities and opportunities of the recipients. A little knowledge may be dangerous; but can the danger be averted from the poor by any effective plan of extensive cultivation? The truth is, that the maxim applies principally to the case of those who are taught superficially many things. Fragments of various shapes and surfaces, collected here and there, reflect deceptive and perplexing lights; it is only from a substance uniform and entire that the rays combine to produce correct vision. To know but little, if that little is entire, is safe and wholesome: the little that a man thus knows usually operates as a nucleus, around which other materials are attracted, arranged, and consolidated; but the plans of dif-

fusive education for the poor, which the fervour of some modern philanthropists is urging upon us as an imperative duty, appear to our judgments to be preparative of a crisis that may one day, probably on the largest scale, illustrate the proverbial danger of a little learning. Now the little learning we would give the poor is that which has a natural and constant tendency to enlarge itself, taking in, by gradual and successive expansions, related portions of knowledge, and such as enter easily into union, by virtue of their respect for a common and commanding centre.

From these hints, we think it may be easily collected at what we are aiming. We have, indeed, before given it as our firm opinion, the result of much quiet reflection, that the proper, compendious, effective, and beneficial education for the poor is that, and only that, which is wholly occupied with their improvement in religious knowledge, and the practical duties of which this knowledge is the only authentic source and interpreter. We hold to that opinion. We think it is the only knowledge which can be imparted to them entire; and that it is that which borrows least from other sciences or other studies. We know that it is a very prevalent idea with many writers and reasoners on this subject, that for the intelligent reception of religious instruction, the minds of the ignorant should be first prepared by a certain infusion of general elementary knowledge. This seems to us to be a mistake, founded on an incorrectness of feeling in respect to religion itself, which of all studies borrows least from the analogies and principles of other sciences, and depends least upon antecedent cultivation. It has a spontaneous light and heat, which burns in its sacred recesses like the mysterious fire which was among the distinctions and glories of the first temple. It borrows little, it gives much; it is in itself a great source of general intellectual strength. No man has ever yet made a substantial progress in sound Christian knowledge, without a visible elevation of the general tone and character of his mind. In the prosecution of this study the intellect goes on from strength to strength; and the more it brings other pursuits into subserviency to itself, the more it imparts of dignity and vigour, and plan and purpose, to every act and object. The whole moral man is invigorated by the connexion. As soon as religion takes its seat in the thoughts, life becomes a whole; existence, no longer a series of separate events, determined each by its own quantum of evil or good, becomes an economy of particulars, subjugated by their reference to a predominant purpose. A poor man's being, when he is thus brought under the influence of religious sentiment, has in his contemplation a proper beginning and end; a past and a future; a retrospect and a prospect, to which he refers, and by which he judges his own actions. He realizes in sober truth

what, in the language of rhetorical philosophy, he has been called—a being of large discourse, looking before and behind, into whatever influences his substantial happiness. He feels his vocation to a higher state lifting him out of the dregs of his depraved nature; from a consumer of time he becomes a purchaser of eternity; from looking upon the world as a place to forage in, and wherein to follow his instincts, he acknowledges an attraction that detaches him from a sublunary centre, and raises him into union with an infinite dispensation; his accountability fills his thoughts, and makes him recognize himself as the trustee of a treasure which has been consigned to his keeping by one who will require it at his hands under the penalty of an everlasting bond.

Entertaining these opinions, we cannot be expected to be in any great good humour with what we have before called mere pen ink and paper education for the poor; neither can we rely much on drill and discipline, or the simultaneous movements of an organical system, or the methods of a mechanical institution, or the impulse of a stimulating process, or on any scheme but that which requires but little apparatus—the plain, antiquated, parental procedure of simply and scripturally teaching Christian doctrine and discipline to the heart as well as to the understanding.

On this most interesting of all political subjects, the general education of the poor, we come therefore to two conclusions, well knowing to what a weight of censure we expose ourselves—first, that the project of general literary instruction for the poor is the childish enthusiasm of vain and illusory speculation; the vapoury suggestion of a dreaming philanthropy, or the cold emanation of modern political metaphysics: and, in the second place, that any systematic education is good only in proportion as it tends decidedly to the single purpose of making the poor man more sensible of his accountableness to his Eternal Judge, and of his moral stand in the creation. All that affects more than this, or aims at less, or attempts to build even this on a neutral foundation, is commotion without progression, busy and profane trifling; it is industriously to do nothing; unless, indeed, we look to its solid mischiefs in setting men above their condition, and multiplying the sources of disappointment, discontent, and depravity, through the land.

What we maintain, therefore, is this—that to propose what is called a liberal education to the poor, is to propose a thing impossible to be effected; the direct purpose must fail, but of the collateral mischief the success is sure. It generates no steady light, but a wild and destructive fire, like that which, when the equilibrium of the natural element is disturbed, ushers in a day of storm and misrule.

Every thing, therefore, primarily depends upon the instruction given; secondly, upon the manner in which it is communicated; and, lastly, upon the consistency of those by whom it is afforded. Religion in its operative and practical character, but religion thoroughly Christian, as it stands revealed in the Bible, is at once the best, and the only effectual education for the children of the labouring poor. To this sovereign object, reading, and if writing be taught, then writing also, must be made entirely tributary. But religion must not only be taught *entirely*, it must be taught as the subject demands, in a manner appropriate and peculiar; affectionately, personally, consistently, and feelingly: taught by its application to life, taught by the examples of its teachers, taught by a correspondent spirit, extending through society at large. To teach it technically is to teach it hypocritically; and to teach it as a matter of memory or science, or as a mere collection of truths and facts, is to adopt its letter for its spirit, its form for its substance, the confessions of the tongue for the convictions of the heart. Besides all this, there is in this whole concern one circumstance which cannot escape the shallowest politician—that the education now in process, whatever it may else effect or fail in, is calculated to raise up keen observers, among the lowest of the people, of the examples of those by whose purses or personal activity it is carried forward. If the rich combine and subscribe to give that to the poor which they seem not to value themselves, they will unite and subscribe to little purpose. There is not a more silly fancy than that we can render the poor religious against the tide of our own practice; we may give them, indeed, enough of the theory of religion to make our own violation of its rules and decencies the subject of their ridicule and deserved contempt; and it will be well if it ends there.

It is preposterous to teach the poor any thing but religion; it is preposterous to hope to teach religion irreligiously; it is preposterous to hope to teach it in any manner or form, unless what is professed to be taught is reflected in our own examples. The neutral plan of instructing the poor in letters and general learning, to qualify them to think, and choose, and reason for themselves, is treacherous; the mechanical and dry form of communicating religious instruction is vain; the pretence of spreading among the poor the religious principle, while we appear to undervalue it ourselves, is both vain and hypocritical. Do we imagine that with all this clatter of slates and pencils, this parade of copy-books and stationery, these anniversaries of beef and pudding, these regimental arrays of hundreds and thousands marching to church in white and grey, and green and blue; these dinners of celebration with a jovial hierarchy, these priestly

libations to Bacchus, with songs and sentiments and three times three\*, are the signs of amelioration through the land, the harbingers of a religious posterity, the pledges of a right feeling and disposition in the rich, the indications of an improving and contented poor? or can it be thought that any real and permanent blessings can arise from a system of teaching, to the professed spirit of which the teachers are strangers? Was ever army well trained in which those in command did not submit to the discipline they imposed? and can it be rationally expected that the children of the poor will be industrious to improve their opportunities, if the children of the rich continue to be initiated at schools, and finished at academies, where, though ecclesiastics rule and ecclesiastics are formed, Christian discipline lies prostrate at the shrine of a fabulous and impure theology, and the manners and fashions of full-grown vice are imitated and anticipated with impunity?

Men that think and reason on the signs of the times, moralists that meditate on coming changes, place themselves on different stations, and see society under different aspects; ours may be a deception point to contemplate the scene from; but from the place of observation on which we stand, it seems to us that the quarter from which the stability of the empire, and personal security, and social order, are most imminently threatened, is not, as some writers would have us think, the ignorance of the people, and the neglected state of their learning; no; nor "the separation of the upper and middle classes of the community from the lower," nor "an unhappy estrangement between the two grand divisions whereof the population consists," which, in one of our periodical journals, is flippantly and falsely said to be daily and visibly increasing,—but altogether from the barrenness of our public teaching; from the fatal omission to make that which is the only source of duty, and morality, and political quiet, the great aim and end, the alpha and omega of all our national and gratuitous instruction to the people. No man of right thinking can desire a state of things, in which the poor are not the objects of national instruction: Christianity forbids it as inconsistent with the calls of charity, and with the claims of Christian freedom. Without provisions for this object, a state is like a fair vessel perfect in its rigging, with a leak in its bottom. Bad, however, as such a negative condition would be, it will be better for the upper ranks to stand with their arms folded, than to stir in the great work of mental excitement without the security of a

\* See the account in the journals of the day, of the anniversary dinner in honour of the National School Establishment.

## *Sunday Schools.*

Christian guarantee. It is impossible that weak good men can serve the cause of rogues more efficaciously than by adopting the philosophy which professes to equalize to all mankind the boon of general learning; it is a net of sophistry spread over the land to catch the simple and unwary.

Now what is the sum of religion taught in our general establishments? Does it so occupy the intellectual ground as to make it entirely subservient to a sanative and improving produce? or does it, in truth and effect, leave it in a neutral state for any culture to luxuriate upon its surface? Has it, in short, a strenuous hold upon the soil? or is it too loosely and superficially planted to withstand the blasts of a pestilential press now in full and furious operation against it? It has no hold at all unless its hold is on the heart. No part of the little learning of the poor can be safely suffered to be unengaged on the side of religion. Every inch that is not God's is the Devil's; and where there is more fidelity to their trust in the Devil's agents they will soon be permitted to engross the whole. We have before us a widely-extended arena of contest, in which man's immortal part is the prize of the champions; and it will be seen in the issue whether the poor are to have their Sabbaths and their Bibles, or to exchange them for the privileges of an emancipating philosophy. Unluckily, that which best agrees with the passions and prejudices of the multitude is a superficial and precipitate temerity of thinking; and this is just that state of diseased activity which a little general instruction prepares and fosters for the triumphant appeals of a vitiating press. Will the cure and prevention of all this be found in the improvement of the general learning of the poor by stronger excitements until their attainments enable them to cope with the mischiefs, and their sagacity to repel them? The answer is, that this is not possible. It could not be done consistently with their callings, or consistently with the exigency of their daily bread. To urge a secular education of the lower orders beyond its present extent, would be sure to manifest its efficacy in an increase of want, dogmatism, and discontent, without pushing forward a solitary inch the land-marks of the human understanding.

Nothing appears to us more explicitly and decidedly to dictate the sort of education of which the common people of this land are in want, than the description and character of the means, which, since the commencement of the French revolution, perhaps more conspicuously during the last ten years, have been in constant activity, more particularly by the influence of the press, to alienate them from their government and their God. The extent of this danger has nowhere been more accurately stated and set forth than in the critically important speech

of Lord Grenville in the House of Lords on the 20th November, 1819, on the debate respecting the tumultuous and seditious meetings which had taken place in the preceding summer. "Who can be ignorant," said his Lordship, "how closely this detestable and malignant wickedness (characterizing the French revolution) has been imitated in our own country, how long it has been pursued, and to what a height it has now attained? You heard the papers read to you this night, and you shuddered at the recital. Exhortations to murder and treason, from which the heart recoils, and the blood turns back to its fountain! If these were only a few and extraordinary instances, exceptions to the general character of the publications daily obtruded on all the lower classes of your community, yet against these you would, no doubt, call down the vengeance of the law—against these the arm of justice would be directed with universal concurrence and approbation; but it is from a torrent and deluge of such mischief that you are called upon to protect your country. The poison has been profusely scattered throughout the land; it has pervaded not only your towns and manufactories, but your peaceful villages and farms; its malignity is hourly increasing, and fresh activity is employed in its diffusion. This, my Lords, is the true root and source of all your danger. It is incompatible with all peace, all security, all public and all private happiness. It is of power, and it openly boasts itself to be of power to overthrow all that is now standing in this country; and to level in the dust all your prosperity—all your glory involved in one common ruin, with the magnificent and splendid fabric of the noblest government which has ever yet provided for the welfare of any society."

We take the above statement to be very correct; and it seems to us to afford a lesson of the greatest value to those whose anxiety is directed towards the education, on a great scale, of the poorer part of the British community. We are quite sure that a general and open, literary and scientific education of the poor would be precisely that which these conspirators against their country's peace would sincerely patronize; and that sound religious instruction would be just that mode of culture which would draw upon itself their most malicious opposition. The true use to be made of these men is to mark for avoidance every thing which is stamped with their choice, and to compliment their sagacity by supporting whatever they denounce.

The great point for which we must ever contend is this; that the education of the lower orders of the people can never be successful unless it is combined with an improved education of the higher. The community must all move on together. A greater anomaly can scarcely be imagined than an universally religious

education for the poor, while the education of the upper classes continues stationary at the point at which it now stands. We have no specific education for the general authorized teachers of the land; and English gentlemen are brought up under a discipline in which moral culture becomes less and less a feature. But there is a natural order in the providential arrangements of society which no human institutions can contravene; and this order requires that teachers, and such all those who support or govern institutions for popular education are virtually to be considered, should be well taught themselves. It is so natural for the poorer part of the people to look up to the wealthier for examples, that could this state of things, by any strong counter-vailing influence, be inverted, and the examples of the lower be made the models for the higher, society itself must reel under such a disturbance of its balance, and a change in its relations and dispositions become inevitable. The education of the poor must begin with the rich. Such a beginning must not only be the pledge of sincerity, but an integral part of the plan; and we dare affirm the whole system of instructing the poor upon any national plan to be a solecism, unless an education in the same spirit, however different in form and subject, be given to the children of all conditions. By an artificial impulse given to a part only, we run the risk of deranging the whole economy. The plan, however, short and imperfect as it is, must proceed; and the most encouraging hope is this, that it may re-act with a gentle percussion upon the walls that enclose the institutions of the higher classes, just to remind them of the calls upon their activity, and of the signs and exigencies of the times.

The little book which we have named at the head of this article, though it has not originated the above reflections, has certainly made them recur with a new interest to our minds. Almost every line in it bears testimony to the soundness and discretion of those minds whose impress it carries; and we should be very glad to make it known and respected as it deserves. The society, on whose experience and success the hints are founded, which are offered to the public by its committee in this little patriotic treatise, has been in operation about nine years; and within that period it has afforded assistance, by gratuitous grants of Bibles, Testaments, and spelling-books, and in some cases by grants of money also, to 806 Sunday schools, containing, by the last returns, 84,174 scholars.

Sunday schools are precisely those institutions to which, on the grounds and reasons above set forth, we have been always zealously attached. We are tempted to call them pure establishments: their end is incontrovertibly good; their means direct, decided, and sure. Standing on the very foundation of the Sab-



bath itself, and engrafted into its ordinances, they cannot, as long as that day is considered in this land as a holy day, be alienated from its objects, or made subservient to human corruptions. Their very name designates and determines their character; nor can they, without a profane absurdity, admit any thing into their procedure that does not professedly advance the work of religion in the soul. Sunday schools must be for Sunday purposes, connected with Sunday duties, and dedicated to Him to whom the Sunday, by an everlasting proclamation of his will, especially belongs. They are the chartered institutions of an Omnipotent Founder, who ratifies with the seal of his gracious adoption whatever man contrives with singleness of heart for his glory, and places under his protection. The wise teaching, therefore, of these schools we believe to be placed under the surest guarantee; they are under an implied covenant, to which God himself is a party, to dispense in his name only one sort of instruction—that holy, unambiguous instruction which lays the foundation of Christian morals in Christian belief, and deduces all the duties, obligations, charities, and claims of social intercourse, from scriptural authority. These are the only proper ethics for the multitude, this is their only literature, and this provides full employment for all their legitimate leisure. This household, honest, palpable sort of instruction is the only method sufficiently powerful to produce a progressive enlargement of popular feeling, an increasing habit of manly independence upon the contributions of industry, and a gradual dispersion of that stubborn mass of ignorance, of which some of our speculative writers so philanthropically complain. It seems, therefore, to us that the means are simple, and the remedy at hand, by which those objects are to be accomplished, on which so much ingenuity is expended, and for which plans so extensively artificial are contrived. If all the poor of the land could be brought within the scope and discipline of Sunday schools, by an extension of them to adults, and by an amplification of their attractions, resources, and privileges, it does honestly appear to our most deliberative judgments that the great national work of moral amelioration would be found more visibly to advance than under any of the most captivating schemes for the development of the human faculties, promulged by our political regenerators.

But above all their other recommendations, it appears to us, that the Sunday-school system has eminently this, that by the very nature of its constitution it is opposed to that liberal system, which, under the mask of general philanthropy, meditates an attack not merely upon our national church, but upon all the distinguishing and specific grounds of a Christian's hope of salvation. The Sunday school can admit no philosophy into its

composition. It is not in its natural and proper relation unless it subsists in union with a church or religious establishment. That universal, unexclusive, and compromising principle, which is the boast of Mr. Owen's plan, and of such as affect his liberal model, or of the more engaging systems of pedagogy in Switzerland, can have no place in a Sunday school without a total departure from its genius and character. The aim of the Sunday school is to be subsidiary, and to prepare the child for the reception of the full benefit of congregational worship. The instruction, therefore, besides its being placed under pastoral and authoritative superintendence, is, by its appointed and final purpose, a co-efficient with some more ostensible institution. It is necessarily of a sacred character; and its most eminent advantage consists in this, that it invites and attracts the gratuitous assistance of persons of active piety attached to the church or congregation with which the school is connected. It is very possible that under such superintendence it may be exposed to receive a cast of peculiarity in doctrine which many good men may see with regret; but it is evident how decidedly the advantage, in this respect, is with the national church; and how much less dangerous, after all, is the zeal of the Christian dissenter, we speak not of those who differ from us on vital and integral points, than that system of comprehension and universality, which can only maintain its character, and realize its professions, by resolving the religious part of its education into pure deism, or the generalities of a sentimental and mere human theology. Instruction, advice, examination, scriptural exposition and exhortation, are all material and momentous parts of the Sunday-school discipline; and under such an administration and management, the strict philosophical neutrality of the systems of individuals or societies, who adopt the large and accommodating principle of instruction to which we have alluded, can have no place.

We are fully conscious that we are not sending forth a very popular essay, and that we are placing ourselves in a very hazardous opposition to favourite opinions. They that advocate the plain institution of Sunday schools, as the best of all possible devices for the education of the poor, may, perhaps, be thought but humbly of, in a day when the excellence of public instruction appears to so many enlightened persons to consist in the colourless medium through which it is conveyed. Religion, exhibited under no modification, the common faith of all who acknowledge a future, and their own general accountability for the present, seems to be thought, by men of the liberal cast, to be the only proper form in which our common relation to God should be propounded to the children educated by the public.

It is by this sort of bringing up that, in the view of these men, a community is by degrees to be trained to live "without crime, without punishment, without idleness, and without poverty."\* Some, perhaps many respectable men, imposed upon by this wretched cant, may entertain a low opinion of Sunday schools; but the distinguished authors of the mischievous illusion know, that to this humble instrument, "a scourge of small cords" is appended, which, in the hands of the establishment, and properly and extensively used, will go far towards purifying the temple. If full justice is done to the power which it possesses, the industrious population of the country will be protected from many besetting impostures—from the imposture which, in the mystic clothing of German metaphysics, recommends a system founded upon the internal strength of man's moral nature, upon instinctive goodness, interior life, and the dignity of the inborn propensities—from the imposture which places all moral improvement in the development of primitive dispositions, under a system of habitual sentiments and impressions, and considers the contemplation of the universal order in the exterior of the creation, as the basis of religious conviction†—from the imposture that assures us that "the only difference between the most virtuous and the most vicious person is, that the former was placed in circumstances, and exposed to impressions, which generated virtuous habits and affections, and the latter in circumstances by which vicious principles and dispositions were produced"‡—from the imposture, the stupid imposture, which teaches that man is not accountable for his opinions, because "the will of man has no power whatever over his own opinions; that he must, and ever did, and ever will believe what has been, is, or may be impressed on his mind by his predecessors, and the circumstances which surround him:" and that "the doctrines in which the inhabitants of the world are now instructed," including our national faith, "form the characters which at present pervade society, and generate superstition, bigotry, hypocrisy, hatred, revenge, wars, and all their evil consequences: and, again, that the vices which deform the world at large, and this country in particular, arise naturally from the religion which is taught to individuals in their infancy"§—from the imposture, lastly, which proposes to found the improvement of national education on the rejection of all systematic modes of faith, admitting indeed the authority of the Bible, but so far only as it teaches a

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\* *New View of Society*, by one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the County of Lanark, p. 36.

† See *British Review*, vol. xiv. *Pestalozzi's System of Education*.

‡ *Belsham's Elements*, 291.

§ *New View of Society*, p. 37, 38, 39, &c.

system without mystery, and propounds a belief in which all may conscientiously join.\*

We have not ranged among impostures the error of that system of universality, which is the principle upon which another society for promoting education proceeds. It admits the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible; and no doubt the Bible contains the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; but specific instruction, and a prescribed belief, and the narrow discipline of creeds and catechisms, are equally inconsistent with their enlarged plan.

Reading and writing and the Bible being given, is religion to spring of itself? or if it is taught at all, is it to be taught irrespectively of all modes of faith, whether they regard man's original corruption, his natural proneness to sin, the extent of his liability, or the terms of his pardon? To our minds such a neutral system, as far as religion is concerned, appears to be, to all substantial purposes, purely negative. If we deem but one religion fundamentally true, we are bound in conscience to teach it specifically and exclusively. It is as liberal as it is charitable so to do. Taught in any other way, it soon abdicates its hold upon the human heart. But perhaps it is correcter to say, that it can be taught in no other manner. Where would the schoolmaster be found of this neutral contexture, capable of inculcating any religion at all? To be neutral at his mature time of life, he must have been possessed of no feeling or interest on the subject; and if not neutral, but of some religious profession or persuasion, could he give religious instruction upon a principle of indifference to creeds and catechisms? Were it left to depend upon the teaching of the Bible, without any instruction from man, it would then be a school without the essentials or characteristics of a school. If religion is to be taught by oral instruction, no man can impart it without a complexional tinge from his own opinions. Like the bow in the heavens, its arc is defined by its prismatic colours; by these it is cognisable by man; deprived of these, it wastes into confusion, and loses itself in its own expansion, becoming fainter and fainter, until its identity dissolves, and every trace is annihilated.

If what we have said in recommendation of Sunday schools be founded in truth, the little book named at the head of our article is a book of great value. It is a complete summary and digest of practical rules and directions for the management of these excellent establishments, compiled by the Committee of the Sunday School Society for Ireland, written primarily for the use of the Sunday schools in connexion with it, disclaiming,

\* New View of Society, p. 75.

with great modesty, the character of dictator, but assuming, we believe with great earnestness and truth, that of counsellor and friend, and giving them this public form, in the humble hope of assisting the conductors of Sunday schools in general. We are thus instructed in the preface as to the commencement and purpose of the institution:—

“The object for which this Society has been formed is, as stated in its first fundamental regulation, ‘to promote the establishment, and facilitate the conducting of Sunday Schools in Ireland, by disseminating the most approved plans for the management of such Schools; by supplying them with Spelling Books, and copies of the Sacred Scriptures, or extracts, without note or comment, (the only books of religious instruction which it circulates among the Schools,) and by contributing to defray their expenses, where it may be deemed expedient.’

“In furtherance of this object, whenever application is made in behalf of any Sunday School, a List of Queries is immediately sent down to its Conductors; which, when properly filled up and returned, is laid before the Committee, (who meet on every Wednesday throughout the year,) when such grant is ordered, as the circumstances of the application seem to require. Gratuitous grants of Testaments, Scripture Extracts, Spelling Books, and Alphabets, are made once in each year, but not oftener, to every Sunday School thus applying. Bibles are no longer granted gratuitously, but sold at reduced prices, according to the annexed scale. Besides this, the Conductors of Sunday Schools known to the Society have at all times, in addition to such gratuitous grants, the privilege of purchasing books, as often as they have occasion for the use of their Schools, at the following reduced prices:

	s.	d.
Bibles .....	2	2
Testaments.....	0	6
Spelling Books, No. 1, unbound .....	0	1
Do. bound in linen.....	0	2
Spelling Books, No. 2, unbound .....	0	2
Do. bound in linen.....	0	3
Alphabets per sheet, containing eight.....	0	0½
Hints for conducting Sunday Schools.....	2	0
Freeman's Card for Adults .....	0	0½

“A friendly correspondence is kept up between the Schools thus assisted, and the Secretary of this Society; and a yearly return of the state of each is expected from its Conductors; the most interesting parts of which are in general published in the Appendix to the Society's Report. The kind and affectionate intercourse which is thus maintained, tends much to encourage the efforts of the detached Conductors of these Schools, and to keep alive their zeal, under circumstances sometimes the most discouraging. The Society in Dublin is thus made the centre of the whole system; and it labours to avail itself of all the

information which it receives, of the local circumstances of its different correspondents, to spread more widely the spirit of Sunday School instruction. The Committee also collect, compare, and digest, the various plans adopted in the different Schools; select such as appear the most desirable; and embody the whole into one mass of useful information. It is thus, in a great measure, that these Hints have been compiled; though many useful publications have also been consulted in their composition.

"It may be urged, that many of these Hints are inapplicable to small Schools, and to Schools in poor villages, or thinly inhabited countries. This, no doubt, is partly true; but the Committee have thought it their duty, to give the fullest information in their power, upon all subjects connected with the management of Sunday Schools in Ireland, under the most favourable circumstances; in order that the Conductors of such Schools might not be at a loss upon any point; and that others might adopt such parts of these Hints as may be best adapted to their particular situations; and thus each find directions suited to his own case." (P. 4—6.)

Such is the nature, plan, and purpose, of this most praiseworthy and beneficial institution; the evident tendency of which is to elevate the Irish population out of a state of debasement to the level of their just pretensions and Christian rights, by opening to them the sources from which they may learn to know themselves in their true capacities, relations, and duties. The particular advantages of the Sunday school over the daily school are thus sensibly and forcibly described:

"If it be asked, what benefit can children possibly derive from a few short hours attendance at School, and that upon but one day in the week? Here, too, facts and experience come forward with undeniable evidence, and furnish us with an answer, which can neither be contradicted nor disbelieved. The fact is, that *mere Sunday scholars are often found to make a more rapid progress than daily scholars.* This circumstance, too, we can in part account for, by these considerations. The teachers of Sunday Schools act in general gratuitously; impelled by deep conscientious principle and sense of duty, they labour with superior and unwearied zeal, to impress upon their little charge, that knowledge, and those truths, whose importance they themselves so strongly feel; while the children, on their part, press forward with correspondent ardor, engaged by the friendly earnestness which these evince, and aware of their kind disinterested motives, — circumstances, which children know well how to appreciate, even where they are unacquainted, as at first, with the importance of the object. Thus, the Sunday School presents an appearance of activity very different from the generality of other Schools; and the rapid progress of the scholars bears ample testimony to the reality of its effects.

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dren are not only *exhorted* to study during the week, and *enabled* so to do, in every interval of leisure, being allowed the use of their books at home, but are also *particularly encouraged* by this *peculiar* circumstance attending Sunday Schools, the periodical recurrence of the day of examination, after so regular, yet so short, an interval—giving ample time to rest, and to prepare afresh, but not to cool the ardor of their zeal, which is still renewed by the repeated interest of novelty. Besides, the encouragement afforded by the presence of the Higher Orders of society at these Schools, and the ardor thus excited both among teachers and learners, each anxious to merit, as well as to repay, this kind attention on their part, operates with such powerful effect upon the minds of both, as to stamp upon the system of Sunday School instruction, a character of energy and an extent of influence, far superior to the routine course, and less encouraging forms of *common* Day Schools. And it is to the stimulus thus given, and to the sentiments thus inspired, by the friendly attendance of the rich and great, that we are, in a certain degree, to attribute the seemingly unaccountable circumstance before alluded to, that *mere Sunday scholars are often found to make a more rapid progress than daily scholars*, notwithstanding all the superior advantages which the latter are supposed to possess. Nor does this ardor, thus excited, exist in the School-room alone. It extends to the cottage of the learner. It imparts itself to his friends and companions; till, in fine, it pervades the whole circle of the favoured neighbourhood. Perhaps, too, it may yet extend, as it has done in England, Wales, Scotland, and America, and in some cases in Ireland, to the breasts of the parents also; kindle a congenial warmth even in the colder bosom of age; and rouse the present generation likewise, to press forward for a share in the bright prospects, which seem to dawn over the rising race." (P. 11—13.)

The second chapter is on the functions of the Committee, and the general construction of the Sunday school; from which it appears to us that those who are disposed to the humane and generous task of instituting such a method of instruction in their parish, may learn the simplest, cheapest, and most efficacious mode of prosecuting and completing the work. The compilers, in this part of their able exposition, recommend very forcibly and feelingly to committees, the practice of assigning a specific range of local supervision to the different members of their own body.

"For the more systematic performance of this part of their duty, the Committee should divide their district, assigning certain quarters of the town, or neighbourhood, to different members of their own body,—each taking a division, and thoroughly exploring it in all its extent. They should in like manner investigate the causes of the absence of such scholars as do not regularly attend; and take every measure to induce greater regularity. Where sickness or distress has been the cause, they should extend to the sufferers every assistance in their power, and treat them in the kindest and most endearing manner,

—availing themselves of this opportunity to recommend more strongly the reading of the Bible in their several families, and the necessity of conforming their conduct to its precepts. The Committee should likewise endeavour to engage Landlords, and all persons having influence over the people, to exert it in a friendly and affectionate manner, in recommending to their tenants and dependants to send their children to the school. The scholars, too, should be exhorted to induce their companions to attend, both by setting them an example of superior conduct and improved manners; and also by reasoning with them on the subject, on the ground of the advantage thus accruing to themselves. And the Committee should never consider this part of their duty as entirely accomplished, *until every person within their district, capable of receiving instruction, shall have been brought into habits of regular attendance at the Sunday School; and every person, capable of contributing to its support, shall have been enrolled upon the list of its Subscribers.*"

On the subject of donations of books and other articles by way of rewards, they judiciously observe, that "by these are not to be understood premiums for comparative merit, but simple marks of approbation for positive and individual deservings." They recommend also the free grant of books to such only as are absolutely unable to pay for them, and money or other relief to such as are in sickness or actual distress; "a measure," they observe, "eminently calculated to attach both children and parents to the institution, and, when judiciously and discriminately employed, to stimulate the children to exertion and good conduct, much more effectually than that mistaken system of rivalry and reward which has hitherto so generally and so improperly prevailed." Equally just are the reflections on the favourite feature of our modern broad and national plan of instruction—the teaching by monitors; which, where the teaching is a mechanical and exterior operation, and reading and writing are the final or even the principal objects of the institution, may be wise enough, but will be found to answer the purpose but ill, where to make better and wiser by that instruction alone which can reach the heart and change it, is the generous motive and single purpose of the proffered education. "The education of youth," it is well remarked, "is a science of great importance, and it is not to be expected that children can be competent to understand it, or to teach each other, much beyond the mere mechanical parts of a system."—"The object of Sunday Schools being the religious instruction of the people, it is evident that the religious principle is the one thing needful, the first qualification to be sought for in the teachers, far before the showy and secondary recommendations of human talent, or superior manner." The employment of school monitors as assistants

to the teachers is considered as an objectionable plan, as it often tempts the teachers to come late to the school, knowing that their classes are otherwise provided for.

We are glad also to observe that the importance of preserving a strict silence in the Sunday school is properly insisted upon, and that the teachers are admonished to waste no time, nor suffer any to be wasted, in idle conversation, either with each other, or with accidental visitors; which latter persons are also usefully reminded not to address the teachers, or go among the classes, or take their station any where but at the desk of the superintendant. The instructions to the teachers are throughout admirable, and impress us with the sincerest respect for the authors of this wise little book. "Children," they remark, "are not only observant, but they are peculiarly imitative; and an impression almost fatal may be produced upon the mind of a child, by the example of a teacher, uninfluenced by those maxims which he professes to revere." "They should in all things conduct themselves as patterns of the principles which they teach; feeling a fresh responsibility thus attached to them by the office which they have undertaken; it is awfully incumbent on a teacher to look to his own heart; and to make the religion which he teaches personal and practical in himself." Not very new this advice, it may be said; and it is quite true that we have heard it before; but while the self-application of it is so rare, we must not quarrel with its repetition. The practical scorn of it is the great error of the times. Many are running about teaching, and many are profoundly engaged in projects of national education; but the right, good, honest purpose of carrying on God's work in the soul, by displaying the true beauty and consistency of Christian practice, which is worth a million of fine words and fine systems, is as rare as prating politicians are common, or heartless philosophy is cheap.

But to return to our right trusty and approved advisers. Where have we found more virtuous and valuable remarks than in the following summing up of the chapter of hints to teachers?

"Teachers are in danger of acquiring a self-opinionated dictatorial manner. The respect due to their office, and the ready submission paid to them by the children, tend much to produce this effect. This is a dangerous pride, to which inexperienced Teachers are particularly liable; and against which they should the more especially strive; as, in such, it is doubly unamiable. They are likewise liable to contract a taste for human applause; and a desire of distinguishing themselves, and displaying their own knowledge and authority, before the visitors who so frequently attend at Sunday Schools. They are also in danger of acquiring a light, and not sufficiently respectful manner of speaking upon the most momentous subjects of religion.

Sunday School Teachers are exposed to the danger of neglecting the ordinances of the Sabbath; or of but coldly enjoying the appointed means of grace upon that day; and thus of losing a great part of the *personal* advantages which it is intended to afford.

“Against these and other dangers they should set themselves peculiarly to watch; and earnestly to pray, that they may not, after having taught others, prove to be cast away themselves.

“Duly prepared and fortified against these trials, which, so far from discouraging, should only stimulate to greater zeal, Sunday School Teachers may expect to derive much benefit from their disinterested labour; so true is the promise, that ‘he who watereth shall be watered again.’ The simple questions of a child have often drawn his Teacher’s attention, for the first time, to some important and long unnoticed truth; have led him to see the error of some former opinion; and carried new light even to the most experienced and reflective Christian. Besides, the necessity of preparing the lessons for close examination, compels the Teachers to a minuteness of study and research, a seeking for that hidden treasure, from which the happiest consequences have often followed, and may always be anticipated. The employment, too, of young persons, in this useful work, withdraws them from other less beneficial pursuits; trains them up to habits of active usefulness; qualifies them to instruct their own future families; creates an earnest anxiety for the salvation of others; and teaches them the value of their own souls. And the prayers which they are thus induced to offer in behalf of others, return in two fold blessings on themselves:—for a Sunday School Teacher learns to pray, and should pray, for the little ones entrusted to his care, as a fond parent for his own children.—Lastly, the frequent failure of their greatest, and most anxious efforts, may show them their helplessness, and may lead them to look entirely to Him from whom all power is derived; and, thus to acquire both an early experimental conviction of this important truth; and an habitual submitting of all their hopes, projects, and undertakings, to be guided by His counsel, and accomplished by His power.” (P. 38—40.)

The chapter on the particulars more especially regarding the scholars is throughout judicious, and the institutor or conductor of a Sunday school may learn from it every arrangement calculated to give effect and stability to his plan. It exhibits too connected a scheme to admit of extract or abridgment, but we earnestly recommend the attentive perusal of it to those who are desirous of living to a good and useful purpose. Neither shall we attempt to transpose into our pages the detailed instructions given in this book for the methodical disposition and order of the work of the Sunday school: it must be satisfactory, however, to most of the readers of our journal, to be informed, that the one great and holy purpose is always kept in view, the improvement of the heart in Christian scholarship; the true academical learning of the poor; the knowledge that makes the sun go down upon the cottage in peace, and open the dawn with a blessing, that makes

the sweat of labour balmy, the hearth happy, and the sabbath refreshing.

Our Irish friends, whoever they may be, to whose pains and excellent sense this book owes its being, are not disposed to court our great and liberal patrons of education in this country, by conceding any important point on this momentous subject. They do not relish the Lancasterian plan. Neither do we; and, therefore, because what they have said upon this topic appears to us to be eminently just and discriminating, we shall present it in some pretty copious extracts to our readers.

“Whatever may be said in favour of the Lancasterian System, as applicable to Day Schools, it appears to be unfit for introduction into Sunday Schools; and would effectually counteract the principal excellency of these Institutions.

“A very serious objection, indeed, may be made to that system in general; as a selfish desire of personal pre-eminence is its main-spring and moving principle. But, the circumstance which renders it peculiarly unfit for Sunday Schools, is, that while it professes to save the expense of books, it denies to the learner the means of private study and preparation at home; and renders unprofitable to him those intervals of leisure, which might otherwise be employed in acquiring information for himself, or in communicating it to his family and to his friends. Whereas, it is a leading principle of the Sunday School System to furnish books, and the best of books, to the Scholar; and thus to enable him to carry into the midst of his little circle at home, the lessons which he learns at the School, as well as all those which his book contains. He has also thus the advantage of coming to School with his lessons prepared—a most important circumstance, when we consider the nature of those lessons, and the comparative shortness of the time which is spent in Sunday Schools.” (P. 57.)

After a comparison of the Sunday school system as here proposed with the Lancasterian plan, in respect to the economy of their arrangements, in which the advantage is clearly shown to be on the side of their own, they proceed in the following manner to contrast their merits in still more important points, and most satisfactorily to maintain their own evident superiority.

“The second alledged advantage of the Lancasterian System, ‘*The saving in the article of tuition,*’ comes now to be examined. Here too, the same prefatory observations will apply; and the actual value of this tuition must be considered, as well as the actual price paid for it, before we can decide upon the economy of this expedient.

“It will be recollected that Sunday School Teachers, in almost every instance, act *gratuitously*; so that, where this is the case, no saving can arise from the employment of monitors; but on the contrary an additional expence; *as they always expect remuneration in some shape or other.* But considering these monitors (what in Day Schools they generally are) as substitutes for salaried masters, the whole ques-

tion turns upon the competency of these substitutes. And if it shall appear that they are necessarily far inferior to persons of maturer age, and of more experience in the science of instruction; it is to be presumed that no one will ever contend for the economy of a measure, whose saving consists only in the use of cheap materials; and whose sole secret is, that Teachers of a very inferior description may be hired at a comparatively small expense.

“The difficulties of the science of Teaching do not generally seem to be fully appreciated. To explore the mazes, and unravel the intricacies of the human mind,—a structure so curious, so delicate, so complicated; to discern rightly what feeling should be cherished, and what repressed; nicely to adjust to different dispositions the several proportions of encouragement and restraint: to know how to elicit latent talent, and how to enliven constitutional dulness; to distinguish all the various shades of character, and tones of feeling; and to apply to each, the means best calculated to interest and engage it;—these are the attainments of much observation and of long experience. They may be acquired by persons in the humblest, as well as in the highest ranks of life; but they cannot be expected in an inexperienced youth. ‘Nothing is easier,’ says Mr. Cecil, ‘than to talk to children; but, to talk to them as they ought to be talked to, is the *very last effort of ability*: it requires *great genius*, to throw the mind into the habits of children’s minds.’

“And if such be the difficulties in the way of rightly understanding the mere mode of communicating even general instruction; and such the knowledge so desirable in order to carry it into effect; what shall be said when the subject of religious education is considered? When the many and momentous duties and responsibilities of the Teacher of religion are remembered, as enumerated in this, and in the Chapter upon ‘Teachers!’ Shall a child, or a giddy school-boy, be declared competent to a task so arduous, an office so ostensible? And the monitors in Lancasterian Schools are children;—children who perhaps have learned the little which they know, from others like themselves; and who, (as it too often happens,) thus armed with authority, adorned with medals, and elate with pride, are commissioned to undertake the practice of the deep and difficult science of instruction; without possessing perhaps one of the solid qualifications necessary to such an undertaking. What would parents in the higher ranks of life say to that master, who should commit their children entrusted to his care, to be taught and commanded by their fellow-children; on a new and economical plan, in order to save himself trouble, and the expense of tutors? And are not the feelings of a poor man the same towards the children of his equals; and his opinion the same, of their competency to act as Teachers to *his* children?

“But it may be said, we have seen the good produced by the employment of these Monitors; we have seen children thus teach children to spell, and read well; and this is all the evidence which we desire. If to *spell and read well* be all the *object* which we desire, then may we indeed rest satisfied with such evidence as this. For, unquestionably, when a sort of mechanism is devised; and the mind is, by the *sole force*

of system, rolled |s it were unconsciously along, without effort of its own; the hand of an infant may be made to move such machinery as this; as the most complicated engine may be set in motion by a child, who understands not its most trifling movement, not knows how he himself acts upon it. When children may be taught to read and write, by mechanical obedience to word of command, and by military attention to signs and signals, the youngest and most ignorant among them may be trained to act as their instructor. But is this a rational, an intellectual system of education? No; for it prescribes the same unbending rule to all the varieties of the human mind; and supposes each to be accessible by the same methods: it does not train the mind to the independent exertion of its own powers, but supercedes the necessity of such exertion; accustoms it to easy modes of acquiring elementary knowledge; and, this once attained, it furnishes no help to advance beyond it; and leaves behind no habits of mental exertion, no exercised energies of intellect. Above all, it is not calculated to attain any higher object than the mere teaching to read and write; and it neglects, and is indeed utterly unable to inculcate, those principles of religion, which alone can render such attainments truly useful.

"It is not intended to enlarge here upon the injury sustained by these monitors themselves, in their own tempers, dispositions, and future characters; nor is it meant to enumerate *all* the objections which might be urged against the employment of such persons; but it is trusted that sufficient has been said, fully to warrant the assertion—that any saving which may accrue from resorting to these expedients, is *more than counterbalanced* by the inferiority of the education thus conferred; and that, if the expense of a system be considered in reference to the object which it is calculated to attain, the Lancasterian is far from deserving the character of being *economical*.

"It is not, however, meant that Scholars of the head classes should never be employed to attend the lower, in case of the sickness, or other unavoidable absence of a regular Teacher; but only that where other Teachers can be had, this plan of monitors should never be adopted *systematically*.

"Having said thus much in objection to the Lancasterian system, a good deal of which will, indeed, also apply to the leading features of similar systems, it remains now to lay down the principles upon which it appears that a *system* of education should be founded. Each Teacher having his own allotted class, should *turn his whole attention to it*; and study deeply the character and disposition of *every individual* composing it. He should observe those qualities in his pupils which require to be brought forward, or to be subdued; to be encouraged or to be repressed; and he should endeavour to discover the most effectual methods of producing these different effects. He will soon perceive, that some children are timid, and diffident; and that these must be encouraged, and won, by patient kindness, into greater confidence; that their ignorance must be excused; their errors palliated, and their embarrassment and confusion not increased by hurry. He will perceive that some are gentle; and that these must be encouraged, by their teacher's approbation, judiciously and *moderately* bestowed; that some

are forward and presuming; and that such must be repressed, by firm, but calm rebuke. He will perceive, that some are naturally dull and stupid, while others are only apparently so, having in reality good abilities, but accompanied with a tendency to idleness, which leaves these talents wholly unemployed, and produces the appearance of stupidity: Again, he will perceive that some are quick and volatile; and that these must be trained to habits of sober application; some careless and indifferent; some self-willed, and impatient of restraint; and to every difference of disposition and temper, he will have to apply a different treatment, suited to each several variety.

“When the Teacher has acquired a sufficient acquaintance with the characters of his pupils, and a knowledge of the best mode of engaging their attention, he will then have attained a very material point; and will be enabled to act upon his whole class, with great and decided effect: and this point once gained, he should not be anxious to change his class, as these advantages might thus, in a great degree, be lost.

“He will have also another duty to learn; that of *strict impartiality*. Among the variety of characters above described, some will necessarily be engaging and amiable; others uninteresting and disagreeable. Where such circumstances arise from *natural* disposition, he should manifest no distinction between them; but, laying aside every prejudice, he should cultivate towards each, a feeling of parental tenderness, manifested outwardly by parental care.” (P. 61—66.)

We are next assisted with some valuable specific directions for the culture of the children, of which we can only say that they bear the same impress of excellent sense and discernment, which has already drawn from us so much commendation. We must not, however, omit to say that those persons who find a difficulty in putting proper and seasonable questions to the children, will find in this chapter a list of interrogatories very well imagined, and very useful for their purpose. Were we asked, however, to point out the best chapter in this very useful little treatise, after some hesitation we think we should say the ninth, upon “Rewards and Punishments.” It begins with insisting upon the infinite importance of regulating and refining the motives by which the mind is to be urged to activity, and strengthened for the task of its own improvement, and feelingly comments upon the common mistake of those, who, considering the acquisition of knowledge as the chief end in view, have deemed almost any mode of excitement justifiable, provided the child be thereby induced to learn; forgetting how much more important it is that children should be early accustomed to act from good principles and right motives, than that their heads should be filled with a knowledge, the value whereof depends upon the purposes to which they may afterwards apply it. We entirely also agree in opinion with these gentlemen in their censure of those numerous expedients for teaching children to read and write, without subjecting them



to the salutary but somewhat painful labour of study, or of individual and voluntary mental exertion. "By systems such as these," say these judicious and right-thinking men, "man may, indeed, acquire intellectual food, without paying the penalty of the sweat of his brow; but as bodily labour was ordained to be a wholesome discipline for humbling and chastening a fallen creature, and for restraining and neutralizing his evil propensities, so mental exertion or study seems wisely designed to check the volatility of youth, to restrain its impetuosity, to repress its pride, and to accustom the learner to submit his will and his inclinations to the laws imposed by his wiser and more experienced teacher." Thus that which Hesiod declares to be the way to fame, that *ἰδρὺς τῆς ἀρετῆς* which conducts to the temple of heathen glory, that path to distinction which the Mantuan bard tells us that his Jupiter had made difficult for the sake of exercising the faculties of man, is here, with great propriety and beauty, indicated as the medium by which the soul is exalted in Christian dignity and strength.

The ill use made, in other public institutions for education, of the principle of shame is well exposed;—"a species of infliction," says our treatise, "which, while it falls with greatest severity upon the best dispositions, is calculated to harden the bad, and to render unfeeling those who witness such examples, by teaching them to ridicule and scoff at their companions, when in misfortune and disgrace." The argument thus proceeds:—

"Besides, it may be questioned whether the dread of shame be a principle which can be encouraged without danger. Is there no 'fear of man which bringeth a snare?' Is there no temptation to be apprehended in after life, from the ridicule of foolish companions, which may be rendered more perilous by the child having been early taught to regard the sneer of his comrades as a great, if not the greatest evil? and if this be so, where is the advantage of punishments like these? Another sort of penalty upon the list of modern expedients, is the imposing of extra tasks, such as hymns or passages of Scripture, to be learned by rote. This is highly objectionable, as it leads the learners to consider as a punishment, what they ought to regard as a privilege.

"Another excitement, which has been adopted to induce children to learn, is the constant distribution of rewards, addressed to their avarice or their vanity; badges, decorations, prize tickets, &c. have been multiplied for the purpose. An ingenious mode has likewise been adopted to give these rewards a kind of perpetual existence and influence; the children receive tickets, which are valued at different rates, some the fiftieth, some the hundredth part of a penny—these are distributed for the slightest good conduct, sometimes for every well-said lesson, for every performance of an act of common duty; and thus those very instructors who in theory teach this principle, that if man had done all his duty, he would still be but an unprofitable servant,

are made, by a practical inconsistency, to treat every performance of duty as deserving of reward." (P. 85, 86.)

The remarks which are made upon the effect of public exhibitions are in perfect unison with our long cherished opinion. "Such scenes," we are sensibly reminded, "may, indeed, stimulate the children, excite a lively interest in the beholders, and increase the number of the friends of the school; but these are objects far inferior to that which should be paramount to every other consideration, the cherishing of Christian principles in the hearts of the children. General and periodical examinations may be expedient; but they should be conducted with simplicity and comparative privacy; that vanity and the love of display so natural to the young mind, and so injurious, especially to young females, may, if possible, be entirely excluded. We should certainly in no case do evil that good may come; and yet, in education, how often do the best-intentioned persons seek to attain their ends by eliciting and fostering the worst dispositions of our nature." What follows on the same subject, and which we have no room to extract, is equally to the purpose, and to our minds affords ample ground for concluding that any mode of stimulating the mind to industry, by the instrumentality of its bad propensities, is as unscriptural as it is inexpedient. We will conclude our extracts with one short passage on a subject nearly connected with that to which we have been just adverting.

"But when applied in communicating scriptural and religious instruction, emulation appears in a still more unfavourable light; when the catechetical examination is converted into an exhibition; and the school-room into an arena, where intellect and talent may display their prowess, and gain their triumphs, what will be the impression thence resulting to the children? will they not suppose that the great object of reading Scripture is to acquire the mere facility of answering questions, in the facts or truths which it contains, for they will see that their companions are rewarded, not for the Christian spirit which they exhibit, or the Christian conduct which they show, but for the expertness with which they reply to their Examiner, and for the knowledge which they have attained. Will they not probably overlook the important truth, that true religion has its seat in the heart, rather than the head; and that its fruit is a constant conformity of thoughts, words, and actions, to the will of the Most High?" (P. 93.)

We had thought to have said nothing more for a long time to come, having already said so much, on the exhausted subject of national education; but the little treatise on which we have been commenting, having accidentally fallen into our hands, we found its contents too interesting and valuable, to feel ourselves at liberty to withhold such means as we may possess of seconding its pure and laudable designs. Who has written it we know not;

but as we presume it speaks the sense of a very large description of respectable persons in Dublin, we cannot help congratulating the Irish nation on the possession of such a fund of excellent sense on a subject far the most interesting that can at present engage its attention, in an operative, busy, and efficient state. We feel that we can safely say, that the business of education is well understood in Ireland—at least as well as in our own country; and we trust to the energies of that intelligent people, to follow out so good a beginning to its great and infallible results. While in this country we feebly struggle with the corruptors of the rising generation, and faction pursues its ends by a course that leads to the annihilation of what it contends for; while here, among the patrons of education, are found those who so little know what education should be, that when the people embody themselves in their own defence against the pollutions of the press, they are among the foremost to oppose the design; while here, with the domes and turrets of our prosperity glittering in the sun-beams, blasphemy and sedition traverse our streets, and threaten the basis of our security, Ireland is occupied in a great and simple work of moral improvement, and sends forth from her capital a digest of public discipline in religion and morals, which, were it adopted in this country, and carried into universal practice, would leave little for the legislature, in the supreme concern of national education, but the duty of forwarding the objects of those societies for the regulation of the press, which it has been madly and mischievously called upon to condemn.

ART. II.—*Memoirs of the Life of Nicholas Poussin.* By Maria Graham, Author of a *Journal of a Tour in India*, &c. 8vo. Longman and Co. London, 1820.

THE life of a painter written by an author, not only inexperienced in the theory and practice of the art, but disavowing all pretensions even to that slender knowledge of it which goes by the name of connoisseurship, is by no means an ordinary occurrence. Of course, we except from our remark those biographical accounts of eminent artists which occur in express compilations, such as that, for instance, of Moreri. But though we may have been softened by the frankness and diffidence of Mrs. Graham's acknowledgment, we regret that we cannot speak of her production with much commendation. As a literary composition, it is below mediocrity; and as a criticism upon the works of Poussin, superficial and injudicious. It is evidently built

with French materials, having the appearance of being an almost literal translation of some obscure work, patched together from Lanzi, Bellori, and Vasari. But although these may be the original sources from which it has been taken, the idiom, the structure of the sentences, and the frivolous and sentimental remarks which are scattered about it, bear unequivocal attestation to the fact of its having been immediately deduced from the above-mentioned language.

The biography, however, of so learned and diligent an artist, executed only with tolerable accuracy, cannot be wholly uninteresting to the general reader; and the early struggles, as well as the maturer triumphs of genius, must be always matter of useful and encouraging admonition to those who, in the same department of study, are contending against the same difficulties, and are ambitious of the same distinction. We shall, therefore, make no apology for placing before our readers the principal passages of Poussin's life, not merely from the book before us, but from other authorities, which we found it necessary to consult, as supplementary to the meagre sketches of Mrs. Graham.

Nicholas Poussin was born at Andelys, in Normandy, in 1594. From his childhood he evinced that predilection for drawing, which is a distinctive feature in the life of all great painters, and one of the most ordinary omens of their future greatness; and it appears that he received lessons in that art from a provincial portrait painter of the name of Parin. Having, at the age of eighteen, journeyed friendless and destitute to Paris, he was there introduced to Courtois, the king's mathematician, who gave him access to a large collection of prints after Raffaele and Guido Romano. The person to whom he was indebted for this introduction, was a young nobleman who intended to confer upon him more substantial patronage; and for that purpose took him to his country seat, where his mother, who had a humbler notion both of art and artists, employed him in the management of her domestic affairs; an office which, not corresponding with the independent spirit of the young painter, nor the estimate he had made of his own powers, soon disgusted him; and having determined rather to lose the protection of the son, than submit to the vulgar insolence of the mother, he returned on foot to Paris, where he supported himself for some time by selling small pictures in distemper, at a low price. It is to this exercise that his faults and his excellencies may be attributed: it imparted to his style that hard and cold manner, as well as the freedom and grandeur, by which it was ever after characterized.

Inflamed, like other artists, with an ardent desire to visit Rome, he reached Florence, on his pilgrimage to that city of the arts.

But it does not appear how long he remained there, or why he returned without prosecuting his journey. On his return to Paris, he obtained employment from Duchesne in the ornamental paintings of the Luxembourg; and, with the little money which he was enabled to save from his earnings, he again set out for Rome, but was again prevented from reaching it by a severe illness which attacked him at Lyons. In 1623, he acquired considerable reputation by a series of pictures for the Jesuits' College at Paris, upon the subject of the miracles wrought by Loyola and St. Francis Xavier; and, amongst other friendships, he obtained that of Marini, who received him into his house with hospitality and affection. While the painter employed himself in the lighter and less severe exercises of his art, the poet recited aloud from Latin or Italian authors, and not unfrequently from his own works. From the prevalent images and the general style of Marini's poetry, he probably derived his first predilections for those compositions of which nymphs, and bacchanals, and fairies, constitute so large a portion of the subject. At this time, Poussin executed one of his finest pictures, that upon the Death of the Virgin, for the Goldsmiths' Company at Paris; and in 1624 joined Marini at Rome, by whose kind offices he was introduced to Cardinal Barberini, and the Del Pozzo family, who adhered to him with the greatest constancy of attachment.

He was at this time obliged to sell three pictures for sixteen crowns, to provide for his immediate wants; and it is recorded that a copy of one of these, which had brought him only two crowns, was afterwards sold by another painter for double the whole sum. From the society of Algarde, he acquired an ardent taste for sculpture, and that passion for the antique which has impressed its character so strongly on his works. He applied himself also to the study of architecture with great diligence. And his pictures are examples of the contributory effect of architectural features, when adopted by the painter as secondary and instrumental to his principal subject, and of the dignity which may be imparted to topics for the most part treated as of little or no importance in themselves. The pyramid of Caius Sextius, the Pantheon, the Ruins of the Forum, and the Walls of Rome, have a conspicuous place in several of his best pictures.

"Every hour," says Mrs. Graham, or rather the French author whom she translates, "that he could spare from his severer studies, Poussin spent in the different villas near Rome, where, besides the most exquisite remains of antique sculpture, he might enjoy the unrivalled landscape that surrounds that city, where every hill is classical, where the very trees have a poetic air, and where nothing reminds one of common nature, so much is it dignified by the noble wrecks, whose forms, and magnitude, and combinations, excite in the soul a kind of

dreaming rapture from which it would not be awakened, and which those who have not felt can scarcely understand." (P. 34.)

These were studies which occupied him to his latest years. He was frequently to be seen in the Campagna, or on the banks of the Tyber, with his handkerchief full of stones, moss, or flowers, which he always copied exactly from nature. But the highest object of his ambition was the acquisition of a perfect and anatomical knowledge of the human frame; and he pursued that study under a celebrated surgeon. He studied, moreover, the living model in the school of Domenichino, which was then in high reputation at Rome, and not unfrequently modelled his subjects, in order to obtain a correcter knowledge of their forms. To form a style of his own, he applied himself to the copying of good masters, and, amongst others, the Ludovisi Titian, whose splendid colouring he was at first somewhat inclined to follow; but he soon returned, as to a native element, to the austere but grand manner which he had originally chosen.

Having attained a splendid fame by his *Ark of God* amongst the Philistines (a picture which produced him only 60 crowns), he attracted the notice, and was honoured by the patronage, of the Commander Del Pozzo, who was then superintending the excavations on the site of the ancient Præneste. The celebrated mosaic found there was assiduously studied by our artist.

The part which he espoused, when the rival schools of Domenichino and of Guido excited such bitter contentions among the Roman artists, was very honourable to his character. Domenichino was nearly overwhelmed by the opposite faction; and his picture, the *Communion of St. Jerome*, had been torn from the church of San Girolamo della Canta, and thrown into a garret, where it remained in oblivion, till the monks, desirous of having a new altar-piece, requested Poussin to furnish it for them, and sent him Domenichino's picture as old canvass for the work. The first glance convinced him of its merits. He carried it to the church for which it had been executed, and gave a public lecture upon it, fearlessly comparing it with the Transfiguration itself. This bold and judicious criticism brought back taste and common sense to Rome; and the seductive and effeminate graces of the Guido school gave place to the high and dignified qualities of Domenichino.

Severe sickness about this time interrupted his studies, and the ills of sickness were embittered by those of indigence. Jean Dughet, cook to the senator of Rome, a Frenchman by birth, received him into his own house, and nursed him with the most affectionate assiduities. A speedy recovery was the fruit of this kindness. Six months afterwards Poussin married his daughter; and as they had no children, our artist adopted his wife's bro-

ther, Gaspar, who assumed his name, and emulated his renown as a painter with a parallel success. With a part of his wife's fortune, he purchased a house on the Pincian hill, where he passed the happiest and most prosperous period of his life.

From Cardinal Barberini he obtained a commission to paint one of the pictures which was to be executed in mosaic for St. Peter's; and it was for that patron that he executed the celebrated picture of the Death of Germanicus. Of this work, Mrs. Graham seems not to have noticed the most remarkable incident, that the face of Agrippina is turned aside and veiled; an expression of unutterable agony not new, indeed, but irresistible in its effect upon the spectator. In 1639, Poussin was honoured by a letter from Louis XIII. and received the appointment of the king's painter. His reception at the court of Versailles was highly flattering; and he began his labours by some cartoons for tapestry, now unfortunately lost. But he soon found reason to complain that he was hurried in his studies, employed about trifles, and amused with fine speeches. Nor was the jealousy of contemporary artists wanting to his inquietude; and when he produced his plan for the decoration of the Tuilleries, Vouet, Le Mercier, and Fouguieres, were in arms against him. Disgusted with these cabals, he obtained leave to return to Rome, having bequeathed to his enemies a picture, the subject of which was a sort of thirteenth labour of Hercules, combating with Folly, Ignorance, and Envy. These allegorical personages were likenesses of his three opponents. His pension was three thousand livres, and Louis XIV. generously continued it.

In 1643, being about forty-nine years of age, he returned to Rome in tranquillity. He had now a competent income, and was actively engaged in his beloved art; he was honoured highly as an artist, and loved affectionately as a man. His time was for the most part spent in his painting-room, where he admitted no visitor. His friends, therefore, waited for him on the terrace near his house, where he walked, like an ancient philosopher, surrounded by his disciples. Gaspar, Claude Lorraine, Charles Le Brun, and other painters, attended him on these occasions, gathering from his easy and perspicuous discourse the just principles of the art, and listening to his counsels on the true method of studying nature.

He meditated deeply upon these subjects. Stella, who had succeeded him as King's painter to Louis XIV, and for whom he had executed his *Moses Striking the Rock*, one of the finest of his landscapes, communicated to him some criticisms upon it, particularly referring to the depth of the basin into which the water falls. Poussin's answer shows how clearly he was enabled to express himself on a subject which he so well understood.

"I do nothing," he says, "by chance. The local disposition of the miracle must have been such as I have represented; because, otherwise, the water could neither have been collected, nor used to supply the wants of so great a multitude, but would have been dispersed on all sides. If at the creation, the earth had received one uniform figure, and the water had found neither hollows nor channels, the surface would have been covered with it, and useless to the animals; but from the beginning, God disposed of all things in order, and with relation to the end for which he formed his work. Therefore, at such a remarkable event as that of the striking the rock, we may well believe that a corresponding miracle took place in the disposition of the ground."

The evening of Poussin's life was its happiest, but most laborious period. The last works he painted were the *Four Seasons* for the Duke de Richelieu, in 1664. Of these, the master-piece was his *Deluge*. The next year his frame was shaken by a paralytic affection. When he had finished his *Samaritan Woman at the Well* for M. Chantillon, he sent it, with a note, in which he said, "This is my last work." I have already one foot in the grave." The last letter which he ever wrote, strikingly exemplifies "the ruling passion strong in death." He says,—

"I must at length endeavour to awake after my long silence. I must raise my voice, whilst my pulse still faintly beats. I have had full leisure to read and weigh your book upon the perfect idea of painting, which has been a sweet solace to my mind. I rejoice that you are the first Frenchman to open the eyes of those who see only through the medium of others, and suffer themselves to be led astray after the crowd. You have now warned and softened a metal hitherto stiff and difficult to handle, so that hereafter others may be found, who, following your example, may give us something useful on painting." (P. 131.)

He breathed his last on the 19th of November, 1665. His funeral was attended by all who practised or honoured his art. A monument, on which two puerile inscriptions were engraved, was erected to his memory.

No man was ever more deeply lamented. The playful vivacity of his conversation, the affectionate warmth of his friendship, the modest fearfulness of giving offence which was evident in all that he said or did, and the easiness and unostentatious simplicity with which he loved to discourse upon his art, rendered his society valuable, both for instruction and delight.

Much praise is not due to our author for her critical remarks upon Poussin. Of his *Deluge*, she speaks in a tone of animadversion which is completely at variance with the general suffrage. But her reasonings, or rather her opinions, terminate in this conclusion—that the defect of the painting is in the subject, which is incapable of being painted. She seems not to be



aware, that critical adjudications like these, must directly tend to circumscribe the range, not of painting merely, but of every imitative art. They are limitations, which genius will disdain. If every subject be interdicted which transcends the ordinary scope of our conceptions, or lies remote from the track of our experience, it follows that the gates of the ideal world are barred against the artist. He must paint by rule and by precedent; and never venture into the obscure, but sublime regions, *nullius ante trita solo*, that world of undefined shapes and mystic shadows, hitherto regarded as the lawful domain of those arts which make their appeal to the imagination. The *quidlibet audendi* is their ancient prerogative. It was not forbidden to Milton, nor to Virgil, to tread the gloomy empire of eternal punishment—

——— regions dolorous

Of many a frozen, many a fiery alp.

The Deluge of Poussin is a mere physical revolution upon the face of the globe, an inundation upon a large scale.

"The usual objection," says Mrs. Graham, "to any representation of it is not overcome in this picture. It is only the inundation of a valley, terrible indeed; but, without the Ark in the back-ground, it might pass for an ordinary accident; the rocks in the fore-ground are such as we daily see at no great elevation; and the very circumstances of the cataract, though fine in itself, shuts out the idea of the Deluge, where all the waters must be level."

She then urges the same objections to Poussin's picture, as those which she seeks to establish against the Last Judgment of Michael Angelo. It is, however, obvious that both cannot be liable to the same exception. If the dread events of the day of judgment are unfit for painting because they are beyond the grasp of our conceptions, the Deluge is a subject of which it is not impossible to frame an accurate idea. There are people on our globe, who, without any assistance from the fancy, could describe to us with tolerable exactness this overwhelming desolation. In the countries, for instance, bordering on the Lower Nile, the idea of its horrors is too familiar to need the heightenings of graphic delineation. At any rate, it is a subject by no means remote from our conceptions, so far at least as is sufficient to excite the tragic emotions of terror and pity; and if these have been excited by Poussin (and no one, we presume, will deny it), we can recognize neither the good sense nor the taste of the critic, who flippantly condemns the picture as unpleasant.

But the cataract shuts out, says the same critic, the idea of the Deluge, of which all the waters must be on a level. When? Not surely during the gradual swell of the inundation; for the painter was allowed to seize his own point of time. Poussin

did so with his usual judgment. He did not wait till the world was a wide and uniform expanse of water, for this would have imparted a monotony to his picture;—but he selected that point of time when the flood was foaming over the lower mountains, and all living things were engaged in a vain struggle for their own conservation. For ourselves, we have never contemplated this celebrated work without feeling new convictions stealing upon us, at every glance, of the greatness of its design and the felicity of its execution.

It would savour of affectation, were we to boast of our own competency to appreciate the varied and characteristic merits of the different schools of painting.

Whate'er Lorraine light touch'd with soft'ning hue,  
Or savage Rosa dash'd, or learned Poussin drew.

On such occasions we willingly betake ourselves to the authority of better oracles; and, therefore, we shall convey our opinion of Poussin's excellencies in the words of a painter and a critic, conversant not only with the practical rules of the art, but with those immutable laws and precepts which are derived from the constitution of our minds, and flow from the original fountains of nature.

"Opposed," says Sir Joshua Reynolds, "to this florid, careless, loose, and inaccurate style," he had been speaking of Rubens, "that of the simple, careful, pure, and correct style of Poussin seems to be a complete contrast. Yet, however opposite their characters, in one thing they are agreed; both of them always preserving a perfect correspondence between all the parts of their respective manners; inasmuch that it may be doubted, whether any alteration of what is considered defective in either, would not destroy the effect of the whole. I have often thought that Poussin carried his veneration for the ancient statues so far, as to give his works the air of ancient paintings. It is certain, he copied some of the antique paintings, particularly the Marriage in the Aldobrandini Palace at Rome,\* which I believe to be the best relique of those remote ages that has yet been found. \* \* \* \* \*

"The favourite subjects of Poussin were ancient fables; and no painter was ever better qualified to paint such subjects, not only from his being eminently skilled in the knowledge of the ceremonies, customs, and habits, of the ancients, but from his being so well acquainted with the different characters which those who invented them gave to their allegorical paintings." (Discourse on Painting, p. 139.)

Mrs. Graham well observes that Poussin's women are neither soft, easy, nor attractive, but austere and dignified, and that for

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\* Now in the Vatican.—*Rev.*

this reason, and also for their defective colouring and the neglect of chiaroscuro, his Holy Families are inferior to his other compositions, as well as to those of Raffaele, Guido, and other masters of love and beauty. His figures are frequently arranged, and his lights and shadows fall, as in an ancient bas relief. So sparing was he of his figures, that, as if to depart as widely as possible from the manner of Paul Veronese, he used to say, that one figure too much spoiled a picture. In the choice of his subjects, he was unequalled. Never does he overload our attention, or waste and dissipate our interest, by his groups. In several of his pieces, he speaks as by a single word. But none are more remarkable for this elliptic and condensed power, than the Shepherds of Arcadia, Diogenes throwing away his Shell, and above all, the Slaughter of the Innocents. His learning has been deservedly commended: he represented faithfully and appropriately the costume and manners of the persons whom he delineated.

Of his landscapes, it seems to be the fashion to say too little. They have an exquisite mellowness of tint, and are remarkable for their truth and simplicity. "I do not mean," says Lanzi, "to exaggerate, when I say that the Caracci improved the art of landscape painting, and Poussin brought it to perfection." His landscape scenery is always pleasing, and it derived an accessory charm from the objects which he introduced—the variety of foliage, buildings, and other ornamental incidents. His colouring, it is true, although his early studies were influenced by a warm admiration of Titian and Guido, is cold and feeble, like the marble of the statues which he so assiduously studied, instead of affecting the carnations of nature and the floridness of the Venetian school. But though he was no colourist, he has shown us abundantly how greatly he might have excelled in that department, had he thought it worthy of his genius. If it is decreed to our limited powers, that the great requisites to a perfect painter are to be for ever disunited, we do not hesitate to declare our own predilections; for though the senses may drink to intoxication of the splendour and voluptuousness of the Flemish and Venetian schools, our warmest homage is due to that manner which seizes upon our hearts, and interests our deepest feelings.

The strength of Poussin lay in action and the energies of passion, not in sweetness and repose. Perhaps the greatest triumph of art is that of smoothing, by imperceptible transitions, what is horrible and shocking, into the pathetic and awful. Subjects simply painful and revolting become thus, by the magic of genius, a refined and exalted enjoyment. We speak of such repulsive subjects as the Murder of the Innocents, which, in unskilful hands,

respire only cruelty, blood, and butchery; but, by the spells of such masters as Guido, Raffaele, and Poussin, <sup>1</sup>bahe as it were our souls in a chaste and severe delight.

We have thus ventured to offer our opinions concerning this eminent artist; and here our remarks would have closed, had not Mrs. Graham thought it necessary to revive a question more fitted indeed for the rhetorical contests and exercises of school-boys, than worthy of a lengthened disquisition. Yet as the little we have to say upon it, has for its object the putting to rest what we have long considered as a mere verbal controversy, we shall enter shortly into the discussion.

The proposition against which Mrs. Graham rises in arms is this—that painting flourishes best in slavish countries, and slavish times\*—a dogma hardly requiring a serious refutation. Determined to challenge her adversary to the *outrance*, she rushes headlong to the opposite hypothesis, and overlooking every intermediate shade of opinion, and the mixed causes, moral, physical, and political, by which every human position is modified, pronounces, in a tone equally decisive and peremptory, that poetry and painting (to which she erroneously attributes a common origin) can spring and flourish only under a free government.

“They forget,” says our author, speaking of those whom she is so eager to refute, “that poetry and painting both sprung up in the free cities of Greece. They forget too that the period when the great poets of Italy wrote, and when her greatest painters were born, was one of freedom, bordering on licentiousness. Look into the annals of Italy. Michael Angelo, Raffaele, Titian, Leonardo, &c. were all born in the space between 1442 and 1492, while Florence was a republic. From the moment her captains became stationary tyrants, no great man in art was born or nurtured in the North of Italy. The cities in the papal states long retained, together with the republican form of government, something of the republican spirit. The second school of painters was, therefore, as might be looked for, at Bologna, the freest of those cities. The Caracci and their scholars dared to paint nobly, for they were free.” (Preface, p. 10.)

Truth, according to her usual modesty, resides in neither of these extremes. To aver that the arts will best flourish in a despotic soil, would be false—that they can only flourish in a free country, is not universally true. The question, for this is the fairest way in which it can be put, whether, under the influence of liberty, or the protection of a fostering and munificent despotism, literature and the arts are the most vigorous in their

\* It appeared in the Edinburgh Review in an article on Farrington's Life of Reynolds.

growth, is not susceptible of an unqualified answer. Perhaps it may be fairly assumed, that to those studies which it has no direct interest in suppressing, a despotic government would be as favourable as any other mode of polity. To that class of literature which opens the foundations of civil authority, and diffuses a spirit of research into the nature and extent of the civil obligations, such a government will be necessarily adverse; but the arts which embellish life, and solace and captivate the public mind, are auxiliary rather than hostile to despotic institutions. They divert the public intelligence from political inquiry; and impart, on the other hand, to the sternness of authority, the amiable and conciliating character of patron and protector. It is thus that arbitrary governments receive back, in the splendour and elegance of the fine arts, more than an usurious compensation for the munificence by which they were reared and cherished into growth.

There is, however, no need of reasoning from mere presumption. Mrs. Graham has, by her historical references in aid of her position, totally destroyed its universality. For the period in the Italian annals, so propitious, according to her theory, to the art of painting, was by no means a period of political freedom, and she is singularly unfortunate in the choice of it. Florence had then descended from her rank amongst the free commonwealths. At the close of the fourteenth century, the constitution of 1328 was nearly superseded, and her government, if not in legal form, became in substance a pure aristocracy; nor did the house of Medici, which restored the popular party, restore the republic. Cosmo began his career by trampling upon the popular institutions of the state. According to Machiavelli, the dictatorial power, on pretence of fresh dangers, was renewed six times in twenty years. In 1466, that house had acquired an acknowledged supremacy; its chief nominated the magistrates, and drew to himself the whole conduct of the republic. The subversion of the republic, prepared by his two immediate ancestors, was completed by Lorenzo. The empty names of the magistracies, the *eadem magistratum vocabula* kept up the illusion of freedom, but the title of *principe del governo* proclaimed its extinction. The art of painting had, indeed, arisen in freer periods; but it was the puny and sickly infancy of the art when Cimabue and Giotto flourished. Leonardo da Vinci, Fra Bartolomeo, Michael Angelo, and Raffaele, were reserved for the tranquil and magnificent dictatorship of Lorenzo; and at his death the art and its professors migrated from the troublous anarchy which followed, to the more quiet asylum of the Vatican; but they were attracted thither and to the other Italian states by patrons like the Medici, and governments endued with equal means of patronage.

Mrs. Graham must be reminded, also, that it was under the sway of Pericles that Grecian art reached the height which has been considered in all succeeding ages as its ideal perfection. It was then that Phidias formed the severe and sublime style, of which the few fragments that have been preserved to us are the admiration and despair of succeeding artists; and Parrhasius painted that celebrated allegory of the Athenian democracy, which, though lost to modern times, is still immortal in the consenting praises of antiquity. Pericles was, in truth, virtually at the head of Athens for forty years—for fifteen years of this space he was undisguisedly its sole tyrant.

The arts, indeed, were not indigenous to ancient Rome; but the domination of Augustus was the era of their greatest engrafted splendour. The Pantheon is a proud and enduring memorial of the munificence with which they were cherished in his reign, though the severe graces of Attic sculpture, and the Doric simplicity of architecture, were not destined for the imperial city. To Athens, ancient Rome, and Florence, the eye naturally turns for the brightest epochs of the arts, whilst Pericles, Augustus, and Lorenzo, severally swayed their destinies,—periods, indeed, neither of absolute slavery, nor of entire freedom. If, therefore, any general inference is deducible from these instances, it will be this, that it is that intermediate political condition of things—that isthmus, as it were, in human societies, which divides freedom from servitude—that point in social and moral history, of which security rather than liberty is the characteristic, which is the most propitious to their growth and expansion.

If any proximate cause is to be assigned for the phenomenon, reason and common sense will suggest a very obvious one. It is in such a state of things that the means of public munificence are in the hands of him who has absorbed the powers of the commonwealth; for, wherever patronage is liberally distributed, the arts necessarily shoot up as in a soil disciplined and enriched for their reception.

*Et spes et ratio studiorum in Cæsare tantum.*

Whereas, in free states, not only a struggle for liberty, or a course of external conquest, leaves no repose or breathing time for elegant studies (which was emphatically true of the republican ages of Rome), but the funds of patronage are too parsimoniously and coldly administered to kindle them into life and maturity.

According to Mrs. Graham's theory, however, it should seem that the connexion of the arts and political freedom was necessary and uniform,—a theory, according to which, the Hanseatic cities in the thirteenth century ought to have abounded in pain-

ters and sculptors, and New York or Washington, in our own day, to have produced Michael Angelos and Raffaelles. If liberty and art are never divorced, and the perfection of art in every country follows that of its civil institutions, the British school of artists, instead of depending upon foreign study and laborious imitation, would have been by this time the legislators of taste and beauty—what Athens once was, and Rome is at present, the Mecca to which modern artists direct their pilgrimage. Nor have private and public munificence been wanting in Great Britain; but it would surely be the fondest nationality to predicate perfection of the imaginative arts in Britain. If, as it should seem, there is an irremovable impediment to their complete expansion and full maturity here, might it not be traced, in some measure, to physical causes which have always, in conjunction with moral and political ones, influenced their growth?

There is a visible pathology in nations: their faculties, like those of individuals, are moulded by those objects of immediate perception with which they are most conversant. Nature, a prodigal mother, lavished upon Greece every charm of climate and scenery: a delicious landscape, breathing those enchanting beauties which the poet of Colonos has so exquisitely painted:—above all, the human person, endued alike with the nobler proportions and more delicate symmetries of form, administered through the eye a perpetual feast to the intellect. Nursed amidst the loveliness and grandeur of the visible creation, the Greek perceptions were exquisitely alive to the fair and the beautiful. The world of imagination is peopled by images resembling those which abound in the physical world. It is easy to imagine the facility with which a sculptor or painter, thus trained and disciplined to outward beauty, would transfer to his picture or statue the familiar subjects of his hourly contemplations. It was thus that Grecian art seems to have arisen; but by such easy and gentle gradations, that it is impossible to fix the exact period or spot of their nativity.

Here, indeed, it will naturally be suggested, that Italy being blessed with the same bounties of nature, the arts ought to have made an equal bound in ancient Rome; but these physical tendencies were at Rome met by strong and powerful counteractions. The perfection of the arts in Greece contributed to keep them in a state of imperfection in Italy. The Romans contemplated that perfection with an affected contempt and indolent despair: their vanity took refuge in other qualities, and the conquest of the world atoned for more elegant achievements.

*Excurrent alii spirantia mollius ære,*

*Credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus.*

It was also the fashion to decry the cultivation of the arts as badges of servitude, and to rail with Cato against their effeminacy. And even when the taste for these foreign elegancies began more generally to prevail, they were by no means cultivated as Roman accomplishments. Slaves and freed men of Grecian origin were employed as statuaries and painters.

The birth-place of modern painting, Italy, has never rivalled the sculpture of ancient Greece. In the school of Canova skillful artists may be formed, but the school of Canova is that of ancient Greece. Does it not, in some degree, contribute at least to the solution of the problem, that the modern Italians, with a climate nearly as favourable, and scenery as picturesque, as that of Greece, and as propitious therefore to landscape painting (an art unknown to antiquity), are not only much inferior in external form and proportion to the ancient Greeks, but even to the elder Romans? Perhaps the adulteration of their blood with that of the northern nations, and, above all, the ungraceful character of the Gothic costume, will contribute still more to its solution. Hence the modern artists are driven to the schools of ancient sculpture for the human figure, which were studies from forms unencumbered with dress, and the noble and animated attitudes of those who contended at their public games. Olympia and Pisa were the academies of Phidias and Lysippus.

It is probable therefore, that it is in some measure owing to her physical disadvantages, that Great Britain has not been the favourite seat of the fine arts.\* Nature has read this lesson to our national vanity, fed as it is to satiety by the glories of our military fame, and the greatness of our civil superiority. "You are not destined to be a nation of great artists, but you are permitted to advance to the utmost limits of a meritorious mediocrity." Our artists emigrate to Italy; and English art is in fact the offspring of Italy, whence our artists return every year, with their portfolios filled with Italian sketches, and their understandings stored with Italian maxims. It is obvious that such an institution may carry the arts to an advanced state of their progress; but to a school founded on foreign imitation, originality of conception, and boldness of design, will be wanting. Such was not the process by which the genius of Michael Angelo and Raffaele was moulded. Diligence, and assiduity, and the prodigality of public and private patronage, have indeed effected much in this country; and if the physical and moral causes which have been at work in other countries, to bring the arts to a higher maturity and a more luxuriant growth, do not operate

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\* Even the Gothic architecture is of Oriental rather than Saxon origin.



amongst us, we have no reason to repine. We can afford to forego that part of a nation's glory, whilst we have a frame of civil polity in which freedom is enshrined and consecrated, the solid and protecting edifice of social and moral happiness, though devoid of the lighter and more ornamental graces of the frieze and the architrave.

In the foregoing remarks, it has by no means been our object to insist upon any positive dogma. Upon such subjects, a few facts may be easily swelled into a theory; but no safe or philosophical conclusion can be established upon so narrow an induction. Hume, we think, departed too much from his usual caution, when he endeavoured to build up his hypothesis of the connexion of arts and sciences with frames of civil government. We have ventured to suggest that they depend upon the mixed influence of various causes, and have, therefore, said enough, we trust, to ensure, or at least to merit, Mrs. Graham's forgiveness for not acquiescing in her undistinguishing and general proposition, of the *invariable* alliance between art and freedom.

ART. III.—*Correlative Claims and Duties; or, An Essay on "the Necessity of a Church Establishment, and the Means of exciting Devotion and Church Principles among its Members;" to which "The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union in the Diocese of St. David," adjudged a Premium of 50*l.* in December 1820.* By the Rev. Samuel Charles Wilks, A.M. 8vo. pp. 461. Hatchard, London, 1821.

It has frequently been lamented by persons well acquainted with the general state of the country, that so few of our people have any adequate information concerning the nature and excellency of our National Church. If the interests of religion were of little account among us, or if it were the habit of Englishmen to follow, with unreflecting submission, the course which had been pursued by their fathers, the practical evils resulting from this ignorance might be comparatively small. But in the existing state of things, they are of very serious magnitude. From various causes, among which may doubtless be reckoned the provision made by the Church for the religious instruction of the people through every part of the kingdom, there prevails generally a strong sense of the importance of Divine truth, and a considerable acquaintance with the chief doctrines of revelation. The influence of this knowledge, and of these impressions, we discover in several ways. Hence, in a great measure, those religious and charitable institutions,

which are among the brightest ornaments of a Christian people, and place Great Britain at the very head of the Christian community: and hence especially the interest which has been so remarkably excited, concerning the morality of man, in every climate, and under every modification of society. The eye of the philanthropist can scarcely turn to any region of the earth without discovering some effort on the part of Britons for the improvement of their species, and some honourable memorial of their enlightened benevolence: and the heart of the Christian is touched with peculiar delight, when he observes that the main principle by which they are influenced in this "circumnavigation" of mercy, is the charity of the Gospel: when he perceives, that while endeavouring to ameliorate the worldly condition of their distressed fellow-creatures, they regard them as immortal beings: that, in breaking their earthly chains, they wish to raise them to that liberty with which Christ can make them free: that in administering to their present necessities, they seek also to furnish them with those higher consolations, which, when affliction is most urgent, will be most efficacious, and will be succeeded by unchanging felicity.

It cannot, however, be dissembled, that the zeal which so often finds for itself a field of unmingled benevolence abroad, is not in all cases without some unhappy operation at home. It is but too prone to assume, within the country of its more immediate residence, a narrow, selfish, and sectarian character: and thus the principle which, when properly exercised in a good cause, is at all times laudable, becomes, from its association with a misguided judgment, an ill-informed mind, or unwarrantable prepossessions, the parent of many divisions, and the source of much acrimony and bitter contention.

Among the various classes of dissenters, many are to be found who have never reasoned at all upon the subject: they dissent, because their fathers did the same, or because there is no room in the Church, and they suppose one place of worship to be as good as another; or because the chapel is most convenient; or because the doctrine which they find in it is more to their taste; or because the minister preaches without a book; or because they have an aversion to tithes; or because the religion of the Church appears to be incumbered with unnecessary forms, while that of dissent claims to itself a more simple and spiritual character. Many, however, secede, because they do not approve of the *principle* of the Establishment, or take offence at something in its order and services; some dislike its doctrines, and some its discipline; and the generality of these persons are fortified with reasonings in support of their several systems, which, viewed through the mists of prejudice, and

estimated by the calculations of a peculiar arithmetic, appear gigantic and insurmountable.

On these and similar accounts we have long been of opinion with the good Bishop of St. David's, that the rising generation ought to be carefully instructed, so far as opportunity is allowed, in the real principles upon which the Church of England is founded. Were due attention uniformly paid to this important point, and the members of our communion brought in early life to answer the question, *Why are you a churchman?* the knowledge thus imparted could tend powerfully to keep in their allegiance those who are trained up under the shade of the Establishment: and, convinced as we are that the preponderance of sound reasoning is decisively in favor of the National Church, we cannot but hope that the increased attention thus called to the subject might have a sensible effect upon the scruples of many dissenters.

Under these impressions, we hail with great satisfaction the publication by Mr. Wilks; and if we had no other evidence than the volume before us of the wisdom and utility of such an institution, as "The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union in the Diocese of St. David's," which proposed the subject of this essay, and adjudged to Mr. Wilks its annual premium, we should gladly tender to that institution the warmest tribute of respect.

The essay is divided into two chapters: the *first* intended to prove generally the necessity of a National Church Establishment in a Christian country, without entering into the discipline or administration of any particular church: the *second* discussing the means by which *the Church of England* may be rendered most useful and efficient, "There is, therefore, as the author remarks, a very important link, which it will be necessary for the reader to supply, in order to connect the first and second chapters together:—that link is the lawfulness and excellency of the established Church of England." This subject would be foreign to the immediate purpose of the essay: and those, who are willing to examine it, will find abundant information in many previous works.

After a few observations on the general division of his subject, the author proceeds to shew in the first chapter, that a Church Establishment is *lawful, expedient, scriptural, and necessary*. Each of these topics is considered in a separate section: and, for a popular view of the argument, sufficient, as we think, is said, although within the compass of a few pages, to satisfy the mind of any fair and candid inquirer.

But what is implied in the expression "a National Church Establishment?" The definition here adopted is that of Arch deacon Paley.

“ ‘ The notion of a religious establishment,’ he remarks, ‘ comprehends three things ;—a clergy, or an order of men secluded from other professions to attend upon the offices of religion ; a legal provision for the maintenance of the clergy ; and the confining of that provision to the teachers of a particular sect of Christianity. If any one of these three things be wanting ; if there be no clergy, as amongst the Quakers ; or if the clergy have no other provision than what they derive from the voluntary contribution of their hearers ; or if the provision which the laws assign to the support of religion be extended to various sects and denominations of Christians ; there exists no national religion or established church, according to the sense which these terms are usually meant to convey.’ ” (P. 9, 10.)

On the mere *lawfulness* of such an establishment, it might appear to a plain man, untainted by sophistry, and unbiassed by party predilections, superfluous to expatiate : and we much doubt, whether it be possible for any person of a sound understanding and a well-informed mind, calmly and deliberately to maintain the opposite proposition. When therefore we are told, that “ the dissenters discern the impropriety of all religious establishments whatever,” and that men are bound to dissent from an established church, “ even though the doctrines preached be the doctrines of the Gospel, and the ministers practise what they preach,” we certainly cannot look with any high degree of respect to the quarter from which these statements proceed. So far as they are of Socinian growth we have little difficulty about them : Socinianism will account for any thing : it has committed too many other sins against good taste, good principle, and good sense, to suffer much in its character by adding this to the number : so far as the notion has been countenanced by some, who belong not to the school of Socinus, all that we shall observe is, that we are not prepared to expatiate either upon their learning, their judgment, or their charity.

Mr. Wilks, however, condescends to reason upon the point. He reminds them of the Israelitish policy, in which church and state were indissolubly blended by Jehovah himself : he asks, how it happens that our Lord never warned his disciples against such a profanation as that of a national establishment for the Christian Church : and that the Apostles never forbade governors to interfere in the concerns of religion, if such interference were unlawful : he asks, whether, if the Jewish Sanhedrim had been converted to Christianity, it would have been unlawful to turn their synagogues into Christian temples : or whether, if Nero had been gained to the truth, St. Paul would have blamed him for establishing the worship of the one true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent, in place of the classical superstitions of Greece and Rome ?

“ And how is it that the early fathers, who lived so near the apostolic age, and had never been perverted, as we may be alleged to be, by early prepossessions in favour of an established church, are not recorded to have protested against the first innovation? How again is it that the unlawfulness of the practice was never discovered, we will not say by our own immediate reformers and martyrs, who were firm advocates for an established church, but by those to whom our dissenting brethren might with more presumptive confidence appeal? How was it that such men as Calvin and Beza on the continent, or Knox in Scotland, never made the discovery? Their complaint, as well as that of our own Puritan divines, was that the existing governments of their respective countries were hostile to a pure form of religion; that they would *not* give their co-operation to the cause of God; but it never once entered their imagination, that if such co-operation were proffered, it was to be peremptorily refused on account of its abstract unlawfulness. Calvin taught, that if bishops conducted themselves as true servants of Christ, ‘there was no anathema which seceders did not deserve.’ The divines of the Augsburg Confession professed that they were reluctantly *obliged* to dissent, ‘because the popish bishops persecuted the poor people with unheard-of tortures.’ They strongly deprecated the idea of dissenting without palpable necessity. Melancthon, Luther, and Bucer, were equally advocates for an establishment, and an *episcopal one* also. Beza himself professed that he never intended to prescribe Geneva as a model for other churches. Indeed, so notorious is the fact, that Bishop Stillingfleet did not scruple to affirm that ‘*all* the old Non-conformists did think themselves bound to communicate with the Church of England, and did look upon separation from it to be sin, notwithstanding the corruptions supposed to be in it.’ ‘This I have proved,’ continues the Bishop, ‘with so great evidence in the foregoing discourse, that those who deny it may, with the help of the same metaphysics, deny that the sun shines.’ Indeed, in quitting even the grossly corrupt communion of the Church of Rome itself, the chief Reformers professed to do so only for the same reason, to use their own expression, for which ‘they would pull down a house when the next was on fire.’ Men like these wept day and night over the real or supposed defects of most of the then existing national church establishments; but it remained with their successors to discover that the *principle* itself was as unscriptural as the details. They wished for nothing more than ‘a scourge of small cords’ to purify the temple: they never suspected that the whole edifice ought in duty to be destroyed. And, indeed, He to whom this allusion naturally leads us—He who was our great Exemplar—was a constant frequenter of the national church of his native land: and what would have been his language if, when he stood in the temple, and proclaimed, as on the great day of the feast, the words of eternal life, he had been told by any of his professed disciples, in the language already quoted, that ‘though he preached the Gospel, and preached it faithfully,’ and ‘practised what he preached,’ yet that they could not in conscience attend his ministry, ‘because they had an objection to an ecclesiastical establishment,’

and ‘discerned the *unlawfulness* of all religious establishments whatever’—of course the Jewish included?” (P. 21—23.)

In adverting to the *expediency* of an established church, Mr. Wilks, although fully sensible, as he expressly states, of the social and political benefits which arise from it, does not rest the strength of his argument upon this ground: he looks at its *religious* expediency: he regards it as a *spiritual* institution—as an instrument in the hands of God for the preservation and extension of religious knowledge, and for the salvation of the souls of men. If this view be correct, and if a national church have this tendency, such an establishment will appear to be not only *expedient* but *necessary*; and he, therefore, proceeds, without further delay, to the remaining branches of the subject.

After deducing, in the third section, a *scriptural* sanction for a national church, from various circumstances recorded in the history of the Old Testament, and having shown that the assumption usually made concerning the absence of all such sanction in the New Testament is *gratuitous*, and that, if well founded, it would prove nothing against the principle here maintained, he takes up, in the fourth section, the argument for the *necessity* of a religious establishment. This is proved partly from the nature of things, and partly from the testimony of experience.

In the first of these divisions, and in connexion with much sound argument concerning the importance of an establishment for the preservation even of Christianity itself in any country, Mr. W. examines the common objection arising from the purity of doctrine and morality of life which are said to be found among dissenting communities. Few persons, we think, will read these pages without some feeling of surprise, as he advances, at the weakness of the objection. If the dissenters in this country could inclose themselves in a wall, of which, like the projected tower upon the plain of Shinar, the top should reach to heaven:—if they could entrench themselves within impassable barriers, and render their retreat so perfectly airtight that no breeze, which had been impregnated with the incense of national prayers, could waft to them its perfume:—if they could live amidst the churches of our land, as in a wilderness, without feeling in any degree the influence of those with whom they are every day conversant, without receiving one ray of light, or enjoying one particle of warmth, from that hallowed fire which burns and blazes upon 10,000 altars around them:—and if in this state of icy abstraction and imperturbable insensibility they still held the truth in the love of it, and transmitted from age to age the pure principles and holy examples of the gospel of Christ, we should then be struck with the phenomenon,

and turn aside to see this great sight. We should then admit that religion *might* flourish even for successive generations without that machinery which the wise and the good, in all the early ages of the church, deemed indispensable to its growth and advancement; but till these several points shall be settled to our satisfaction,—till it shall be proved that the dissenting minister in this country has nothing done to his hands; that the chapel derives no benefit from its contiguity to the steeple; that small receding bodies are neither more vigilant nor more select by separating themselves from the mass of the community:—till these, and many other impossible suppositions, shall have been verified and confirmed, let no person ever urge against the value of a national church some selected case from those that have left it.

“ The necessity, then, of a national church establishment is grounded upon the necessity of religion itself, and of the means which, in the usual course of God’s providence, are requisite for extending and perpetuating it. Of these means, a stated Christian ministry is the principal. The necessity of such a ministry needs not here be proved. It will not be denied by those who consider the nature of the evidences of Christianity, or the qualifications necessary even to translate and comment upon its original records; still less by those who duly consider the importance of public prayer and preaching, and the administration of the sacraments. But how is such a stated ministry to be secured in a country, *but by means of a national church establishment*? Zealous individuals, it is true, may provide for their own religious wants: they may even extend their efforts beyond the limits of their own communion: but what can they do for the constant and universal instruction of a whole people? what, for perpetuating an adequate stated ministry to future ages? Were our Established Church abolished, and the religious culture of the people left to the voluntary efforts of individuals, without any fixed system for their guide, it would probably be found in a very short space of time, not only that all that could be achieved by such means would be very inadequate to the wants of an extensive population; but that, even what little was effected, would be performed in so desultory a manner, according to the opinions and caprices of individuals, that we should eventually have almost as many religions as parishes; or, what is more probable, in most parishes no religion at all, and scarcely the outward semblance of it. For it requires but an ordinary share of discernment to foresee, that if no public provision existed for supporting a Christian ministry throughout the country, so that every man was obliged either to dispense with religious instruction and the Christian sacraments altogether, or to advance his share towards supporting a clergyman by a voluntary contribution, a large number, probably the majority in every nation, would prefer their pecuniary interest to their spiritual welfare. The wants of the poor in particular would but too probably be overlooked; and indeed it would be little short of a stand-

ing miracle, if, in the course of ages, Christianity itself were not almost obliterated from the country; or, at best, reduced to a few superstitious ceremonies, to which the performers themselves could attach little or no meaning."—(P. 52—54.)

The second part of this section refers to the "testimony of experience" in behalf of a national church.

Amidst the ample materials which the history both of past and present times would easily supply, Mr. Wilks fortifies his argument on the one hand by the case of the Jewish Church; by the conservative property of ecclesiastical establishments, as illustrated in the struggles, trials, and revivescence of the Church of England;—by the Syrian Church in Malabar, which, under persecution and difficulties of the most formidable nature, still survived, and is now beginning to shine forth with renewed splendour; and, on the other hand, by the decline or deterioration of societies which were formed on other principles, such as many of our own independent congregations;—the modern and already dying secession in Great Britain;—the schisms of the methodist body, notwithstanding their plans of discipline, and the solemn, repeated, and dying charges of their "venerable father," as, like dutiful children after violating his most urgent injunctions, they still love to call him;—the Church of Geneva;—the case of the United States of America, than which, considering the extent of their territory, and the comparative defect of religious instruction, nothing can be conceived more afflicting in a country professedly Christian;—and, finally, the condition of revolutionary France. If the testimony of experience be of any account, it is difficult to resist such accumulated evidence drawn from so many sources, and from such various parts of the world.

That established churches have often been corrupt is an indisputable fact; and, as Mr. Wilks admits, "there is a tendency in a bad national church to perpetuate error, as well as in a good one to perpetuate truth:" but grant only that a church possesses a sound creed, embodied in unalterable formularies; and all the cases cited above will demonstrate the importance of such an establishment for the preservation and extension of the truth. Without something of this sort, no labours, and no piety, can secure to future ages the religious blessings of the present. Had that best of missionaries, Brainard, been able to bequeath to his followers the advantages of a national church, how many congregations at this day would probably have honoured him as their founder, and have walked in his light! To expect that religion shall be perpetuated without adequate provision for its security is to tempt Providence, and not to trust it; and so strongly in particular has the importance of a liturgy been felt



by missionaries unconnected with any national church, that in a recent instance the liturgy of the Church of England was translated by one of these persons for the permanent benefit of his own congregation.

The principle which declares war against all national churches, is, in fact, of modern invention, and may be traced, we fear, rather to the influence of worldly policy than of any serious concern for the cause of religion.

“The necessity of a national church establishment, it should be remembered, is not an hypothesis confined to Episcopalians, or to the advocates of any particular system of doctrine or discipline. The communities which have quitted the corruptions of the Romish faith have generally retained, as far as possible, the machinery of a national establishment, which we are now so often told constituted one of the most glaring of those corruptions. We see examples of this upon the continent: we see, to a certain extent, an example of it in the northern part of our own island, where neither a Calvinistic system of doctrine nor a Presbyterian form of discipline has been thought inconsistent with the recognition of a national church. The Presbyterians in our own country also, *when in power*, felt and acted upon this necessity; and ‘thought they could fully prove the lawfulness and propriety of an ecclesiastical establishment out of Scripture.’ The body of Presbyterian ministers in London, in 1654, saw no difficulty in owning national churches, and particularly the Church of England. ‘If,’ said they, ‘all the churches in the world are called one church, let no man be offended if all the congregations in England be called the Church of England.’ And again: ‘It is when the particular congregations of one nation, living under one civil government, agreeing in doctrine and worship, are governed by their greater and lesser assemblies, that we assert a national church.’

“The Presbyterians, in fact, carried the matter to an extent which we who live in the present age, and acknowledge the duty of plenary toleration, must think justly blameable. Calamy himself, that *Magnus Apollo* of Presbyterianism, remarks: ‘The famous city of London is become an Amsterdam: separation from our churches is countenanced, toleration is cried up, authority asleep. It would seem a wonder if I should reckon how many separate congregations, or rather segregations, there are in the city; what churches against churches, &c. Hereby the hearts of the people are mightily distracted, many are hindered from conversion, and even the godly themselves have lost much of the power of godliness in their lives. The Lord keep us from being poisoned with such an error as unlimited toleration; a doctrine that overthroweth all church government, bringeth in confusion, and openeth a wide door unto all irreligion and Atheism.’—Such was the opinion of Calamy in the seventeenth century; and though the Presbyterians of the nineteenth would justly reprobate his intolerance, they would doubtless very generally agree in the following sentiments of one of their greatest modern ornaments on the necessity of a national church. ‘Let our ecclesiastical malcontents,’ says Dr. Chalmers,

mers, 'ascribe what corruption they will to the Establishments of England and Scotland, we hold them to be the destined instruments both for propagating and for augmenting the Christianity of our land, and should never cease to regret the overthrow of this mighty apparatus as a catastrophe of deadliest import to the religious character of our nation.'—(P. 85—88.)

The truth is, that men, who declaim most loudly against the propriety of national establishments, virtually recognise the general principle.

"What, in reality, are the tests which individual congregations employ among themselves—what the strict discipline which they exercise over their members—what the articles of subscription which are exhibited to the students in dissenting academies as the condition of admission, but so many virtual testimonies to the very principle on which national churches are founded, even to the most controverted provision, its exclusiveness. It is not meant to deny the reasonableness of these and similar enactments in dissenting congregations. No society could long exist without some such rules, and the act of the majority must in every community be allowed to bind the minority. But why deny the propriety of a principle in the gross, and yet act upon it in the detail? Why maintain the right of a few individuals associated in a separate community to legislate for themselves in matters of religion, and yet prohibit the same right to a nation at large declaring their voice through the constituted channels of representation; provided, of course, in both cases full toleration be given to the dissenting minority."—(P. 91, 92.)

The length to which our remarks have extended forbids us to dwell longer on this part of the subject; we cannot, however, resist the inclination to cite the following passage; of its truth and justice we are perfectly convinced, and it will suggest to the Christian reader many useful and important reflections.

"A young Christian grows up in the Established Church as it were in the shade: he has little to excite a false or premature development of spiritual attainments; he is not particularly noticed or applauded for his religious profession; he has comparatively few temptations to spiritual pride and the love of paradox or disputation; he may find wholesome aliment in abundance to nourish his piety, but not much of condiment to vitiate it; and though he may not appear to shoot to full-blown maturity in so short a space of time as under a more exciting system, yet if his piety be really genuine, his growth will usually be the more uniform and lasting, and his fruits the more abundant and well-matured. The author has frequently heard clergymen of piety and zeal lament that young persons, who at one time seemed to have hopefully begun a religious course, and to be growing with humility and steady advancement in grace, and in the knowledge of their Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, after quitting the Established Church in expectation of higher religious advantages in some dissenting society, have lamentably fallen off in the lowly retiring graces of the

Christian character; have acquired a taste for stimulant rather than sober doctrine; have fancied themselves wise above their teachers; and have evinced but too clearly how little they had practically studied the character of their Divine Master, by the absence of that meek and unostentatious spirit for which their apparent increase in zeal and speculative knowledge was but a poor equivalent."—(P. 100, 101.)

We pass on to the second chapter:—*On the Means of exciting and maintaining, among the Members of the Established Church, a Spirit of Devotion, together with Zeal for her Honour, Stability, and Influence.*

In this chapter the author bends his view to our own Church, in order to ascertain how it may be rendered more efficient in its operations; he forbears, therefore, to descant upon the honourable station which the Church of England would attain, if all her ministers were faithful in her service, and all her people were animated by her spirit; for the question is, how can such a consummation be effected? Neither does he suggest any novel system of ecclesiastical doctrine or discipline as requisite for the end proposed. The power of renovation he considers as essentially vested in the Church herself; and he asks only that the system already in force should be acted upon in the spirit of the reformers, and that, under a constant recognition of the Divine agency, we should make a good use of the means which the Church herself has placed within our reach.

With this principle in view, he sets about the inquiry in a strictly practical manner, and examines what may be done for increasing the devotion and churchmanship of our people—first, by the laity; secondly, by our venerable prelates; and, thirdly, by the clergy at large: to each of these points he assigns a distinct section.

It is obvious, on the mere enunciation of his plan, that provided it be followed out in its several bearings, the whole question will have been brought fairly before us. The bishops, the clergy at large, and the laity, have each their appropriate duties; and if all of them in their several stations pursue the course which the character of the Church of England, and a due regard to her welfare seem peremptorily to enjoin, the lapse of a few years would probably do more to give efficiency to her ministrations, and to soothe the spirit of dissent, than the most sanguine projector would at this day venture to anticipate.

The first section, concerning the mode in which *laymen* may best foster and perpetuate devotion and church principles, is branched out into several particulars: such as their personal character and example; the pious regulation of their families;

the providing for the religious education of the infant poor; the securing of adequate means of spiritual instruction for the adult population; and an enlightened and conscientious use of church patronage.

In the present state of religious sentiment and feeling throughout the country, the propriety and importance of most of the above propositions would at once be admitted: the quarrel would be not so much with the abstract principle as with the personal application of that principle to ourselves; and as the utility of this essay must depend mainly upon its practical effect, it is not without great reason that Mr. Wilks illustrates and enforces his propositions at considerable length. Our limits will not allow us to follow him in the detail, and we are unwilling to weaken the force of his observations by a brief and meagre summary; but we most heartily bear testimony to the large and enlightened views which he takes of the subject; to the admirable practical rules which he so strenuously recommends; and to the sound, scriptural, Christian principles which pervade every part of his reasoning. The only division of this section, to which we shall particularly advert, is that which refers to the right use of patronage; and we turn especially to this, because we deem it to be especially important, and because, as we are inclined to believe, the generality of church patrons are little aware of the responsibility which they incur by the neglect or abuse of their sacred trust.

“1. Patronage. The importance of this powerful engine of usefulness will be allowed by the most superficial observer. The right of presentation to offices of trust or emolument in church and state, if always conscientiously employed for the purpose of placing in every station the person best qualified to discharge its obligations, would soon effect the most beneficial changes in the civil and ecclesiastical aspect of the country. But such a high degree of disinterested virtue is not to be generally hoped for in a fallen world; and by too peremptorily insisting upon this abstract duty, many moral casuists may have defeated their own object. There is, however, a lower degree of this virtue which is quite indispensable to common rectitude of principle; namely, that if a patron do not select for an office the person of all others best qualified to discharge its duties, he should at least not put in any one who is evidently incompetent. It would be demanding a much higher species of sacrifice than even the more virtuous part of mankind are likely always to exhibit, to expect them wholly to forego the claims of friendship, consanguinity, and gratitude, in their application of patronage; but it certainly is not more than the lowest ideas of Christian responsibility require, that they should not be so far swayed by these considerations as to overlook the character and qualifications of the candidate. If they will not go far out of their way to choose the best, they must at least summon fortitude enough to re-

fuse the worst. The case is peculiarly strong as applied to *ecclesiastical* preferments; not only because the pastoral office is more sacred than any secular function, but because the facility with which patronage may be procured, and the ease with which it may be bestowed upon unsuitable persons without a possibility of preventing their admission to office, is greater in this than in most other departments of life. These facilities ought to render ecclesiastical patrons doubly jealous over themselves in the exercise of their prerogative. It is readily allowed, that surrounded as almost every patron finds himself by eager expectants, and pressed upon by demands which he neither knows how to satisfy nor to silence, it is not always to be expected, however much it were to be wished, that he should very diligently look out for more worthy objects than those with whom he happens to be thrown in contact, provided their character and efficiency are passably fair. But surely it requires no more than an ordinary share of common principle to refuse where compliance would be obviously base, and to shew, that, strong as may be other claims, the imperious demands of conscience and integrity are stronger still. Even the irreligious would know how to applaud rather than censure this sacrifice to virtue; and were *nothing more* than this effected, a considerable point would be gained. We should at all events be freed from the disgrace and evil of having public, and especially ecclesiastical, offices supplied by wholly incompetent persons—by persons whose character, conduct, or talents, would not bear that ordinary degree of scrutiny to which they must of necessity be exposed.

“But in *official* patrons of all kinds, and especially in those who have the disposal of the more responsible departments of ecclesiastical preferment, a still higher degree of Christian principle is demanded. A private patron may without much injury to society, and perhaps without any sacrifice of principle, bestow a living on a friend, or relation, or dependent, who is passably, though not eminently, qualified for it; we must allow something, *οἷος τὸν βεβηλωτὴν*, for the operation of secondary motives and considerations. But *official* patrons are placed on higher ground; they are the public almoners; and though, where other circumstances are similar, they may doubtless lawfully allow minor claims to operate, yet it would be a gross dereliction of duty, and an abandonment of their virtual compact with the public, ever to allow the latter to preponderate in their estimation. Where especially the office to be filled up is one of very high importance, the conscience of a patron ought not to be satisfied with the mere negative plea of not having presented an improper person, while a more proper one might have been found. If public men of every class could be induced to act upon this principle, the benefits to religion and the church would be beyond all calculation.

“These remarks apply with peculiar force to the new patronage created by the late Act for building additional churches and chapels in populous parishes.” (P. 247—250.)

The abuse of patronage, whether by laymen or ecclesiastics, is unquestionably one of the most serious and alarming evils

with which the Church of England has at this day to contend; and no intelligent person can give his mind to this subject without being astonished at what is passing around him. We are terrified with exclamations of the church in danger; we are deafened with daily outcries about the alarming progress of heretics and schismatics; we are admonished, on high authority, of the tremendous evils which threaten both our civil and religious institutions; and yet at the same moment, and in a great variety of instances, the conduct of not a few among those men of influence who are loudest in lamentation, seems expressly calculated to render inevitable that ruin which they profess so seriously to deprecate. How, in the name of common sense, is a national establishment, like that of the Church of England, to be maintained in a free country, but by rendering it efficient for the great end which it was founded to promote? and how can it be rendered thus efficient but by placing in situations of responsibility men who are qualified to fill them? A great improvement has unquestionably taken place, within these few years, among the parochial clergy, and the benefit is incalculable: perhaps to this cause may be assigned, under Divine Providence, the very existence of the Church of England at the present hour; but much, very much remains yet to be done: and those who think of adding strength to the cause of the Establishment, by multiplying dogmatical and unchurchmen-like tests, and laying snares for tender consciences, or who scatter preferments among persons whose efficiency is chiefly to be seen in the rapidity with which they empty the Church, and send off their congregation with disgust to the meeting-house, are cruelly and fatally betraying those sacred interests, which, on every principle of duty and of conscience, they are bound to promote. Would to God that the mischiefs of which we speak were only in our own imaginations! but the contrary is notorious. To preach with fidelity the plain doctrines of the reformation, to be attended by an overflowing audience, to make the services of the Church popular, and her courts loved and respected, is, in many cases, and upon system, as sure a bar even to the slightest parochial preferment, as if the preacher had set fire to the four corners of St. Stephen's Chapel, or had lent his sanction to the parodies of Hone, and the blasphemies of Carlisle. It is not the building of churches, however laudable the work; it is not the establishment of schools, however worthy of support; it is not any authoritative statement, however just, concerning the pure and apostolical character of our National Church, which will supply the place of a learned, preaching, devout, and popular ministry: and every ecclesiastical patron, who, either from unwarrantable indifference, or culpable misconception of the

case, promotes to any sacred office a person unqualified for the situation, should prepare himself for that strict and solemn account which he must one day give before the judgment-seat of Christ.

It will not be imagined either that we wish to depreciate the building of new churches, or that we consider the wants of our population as in this respect adequately supplied. We should, on the contrary, rejoice to see the plan more vigorously and more extensively promoted. Those who are acquainted with the able and very important quarterly publications of Dr. Chalmers,\* will need no arguments of ours to prove the necessity of proceeding with these measures to a far greater extent than has hitherto been either attempted, or officially proposed; and if parliament should deem it inexpedient to furnish additional grants, every possible encouragement should be held forth to individuals to supply the deficiency. "Many destitute neighbourhoods," says Mr. Wilks, "would soon be supplied with churches, if the patrons would consent, for the common benefit, to waive their personal privilege, or at least to give the largest benefactors a voice with themselves in the presentation." Our author applies the remark to the churches and chapels, which might be built under the late act; we would extend the principle, and apply it in a general way. National munificence can never reach the existing necessity; whereas, if the presentations to new churches were vested, either for a time, or in perpetuity, with those that build them, there is no doubt that, under such encouragement, the present lamentable deficiency would soon cease to alarm us. Moreover, in the zeal which stimulates an opulent individual to build a church, there would be a virtual pledge that he would appoint an active and useful clergyman: and although, in the course of two or three generations, it might be disposed of with the same carelessness, indifference, or ignorance, which we discover in many ecclesiastical appointments, yet the *present* benefit would be widely felt; and in proportion to the number of new churches, as compared with the old, would be the probable advantage to future times.

To some of the above remarks, it may, perhaps, be objected, that we either exact too much from ecclesiastical patrons, or tacitly suppose them to act without a due regard to the dictates of their consciences. To the first of these objections we reply, that church patronage is entrusted to individuals for a special purpose, and is of too serious a description to be trifled with; and whatever be the rank or character of any man, whether lay or clerical, to whom is committed the disposal of it, he ought to feel all the magnitude of the trust. To the second objection

\* Christian and Civil Economy of Large Towns.

it may be answered, that we by no means charge every person, who acts improperly, with violating his conscience. In fact, every reader, even of Tristram Shandy, is well apprized, that there is scarcely any outrage against the common feeling and common sense of mankind, which an ill-informed conscience will not readily sanction. "Conscience does its office so negligently, sometimes so corruptly, that it is not to be trusted alone."\* The Romish controversialist believes as cordially in the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the *opus operatum* of baptism, as if they were undoubted verities of holy writ: the inquisitor sleeps as soundly as if he had never heard of the rack and the fire: and with a conscience equally sincere, many a grave person in our own country ascribes to Calvin the doctrines of Arminius, and reprobates as fanatical the great principles of the protestant faith. It is not sufficient that a patron be *conscientious*; it is further necessary that his mind be *well-informed*: and Mr. Wilks therefore, with great propriety, speaks of an *enlightened*, as well as conscientious use of patronage. If a patron, for example, should refuse promotion to a minister, who holds the doctrine of original sin, or of justification by faith, and then tell us that he does it conscientiously, because the man is a Calvinist, we must doubtless conclude that he believes his own statement, and that he thinks he is doing service to God and the Church: but we must, at the same time, be permitted to deplore his lack of information. However common be the case, and countenanced by whatever authority, the night of Egypt is broad day-light to such intense and impenetrable darkness. Ignorance like this, if it were not within the scope of daily observation, would be utterly incredible. How far it may be excusable, we shall not at present venture to decide.

The second section, *On the Means which our venerable Prelates possess for promoting the Interests of the Church*—involves a subject of considerable delicacy: and it is but just to Mr. Wilks to say, that while he meets the question with a manly and independent mind, he uniformly preserves that respectful decorum, which is due to the high station of the episcopal body. He considers himself as writing, not with the view of suggesting to that exalted order the course which it is incumbent upon them, as bishops, to pursue, but for the purpose of exhibiting to the world the importance of their sacred function, and showing to such as think lightly of their office, and of the duties which attach to it, that they rank among those who have it *most* in their power to promote the *best* interests of religion, and the eternal welfare of mankind.

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\* Vide Sterne's Sermon on the text, "For we trust we have a good conscience."



A bishop, according to Mr. Wilks, may render essential benefit to the Church by watching over its temporal interests, by advocating its doctrines, and promoting piety among its members; by maintaining its discipline; by seeing that the pastoral duties are duly performed; by stimulating the zeal, and enlarging the knowledge of the clergy; by encouraging learning, piety, and church principles among the clergy; by the reform of abuses; and by showing himself an example to his clergy and the flock. Such are the chief points upon which our author dwells in this part of the essay; and they are treated with his usual ability.

Instead of attempting to follow him through the various and interesting discussions with which the preceding subjects are connected, we shall merely present our readers with the two following passages: on the force and propriety of them it is unnecessary to offer a single observation.

“To the writings, the preaching, and the conversation of our prelates, must we especially look for a practical refutation of the objection so frequently alleged against our clergy as mere moral philosophers, ashamed in secret of the peculiarities of the Gospel of their Redeemer, and ready even to blush for the doctrines of their own church. The public are in the habit of referring to the preaching, the writings, and the public acts of the guardians and governors of the church, for a standard of her doctrines and discipline: they appeal from the litigation of private controversialists, and even from the formularies of the church herself, to the actual principles and conduct of those who, from their eminent station in the hierarchy, are very naturally supposed both to know best what is right on these subjects, and to feel the greatest interest in the extension of religion and the spiritual efficiency of our ecclesiastical establishment. It will be evident therefore how greatly ‘a spirit of devotion’ in the higher departments of the church must promote a similar spirit throughout all classes of her members. The clergy in a diocese will, in time, almost insensibly become modelled to the standard of their bishop, and the people to the standard of their clergy. How important then is it that our prelates should be men who have deeply studied the great principles of the Reformation; that their views of the Gospel should be accurate and scriptural, and therefore not likely to be affected by the casual controversies of the age; and especially that they should be persons of really devotional habits, so that in advocating the doctrines of the church, and promoting piety among her members, they may always exhibit that heart-felt interest which can spring only from a personal and paramount regard to the spiritual obligations of a servant of Jesus Christ.” (P. 307—309.)

“To instance but one way more in which our bishops may powerfully assist in effecting the great objects under discussion,—they may do so by *showing themselves in all things an example to their Clergy and the Flock.*—Here we need not dilate, for the proposition carries with

it its own evidence. Most of the duties which have been mentioned as binding on the laity, as well as those which will be specified in the next section as applicable to the clergy, are doubly incumbent on those who are the heads and guides of all. The importance of the conduct and example of our ecclesiastical dignitaries, both to excite men to devotion and to awaken and confirm their attachment to the Established Church can scarcely be too highly estimated: 'It cannot be denied,' said Lord Bacon, 'but that the imperfections in the conversation and government of those which have chief place in the church, have ever been principal causes and motives of schisms and divisions. For whilst the bishops and governors of the church continue full of knowledge and good works; whilst they feed the flock indeed; whilst they deal with the secular states in all liberty and resolution, according to the majesty of their calling, and the precious care of souls imposed upon them, *so long as the church is situated, as it were, upon a hill, no man maketh question of it, or seeketh to depart from it*; but when these virtues in the fathers and leaders of the church have lost their light, and that they wax worldly, lovers of themselves, and pleasers of men, then men begin to grope for the church as in the dark; they are in doubt whether they be the successors of the Apostles or of the Pharisees; yea, howsoever they sit in Moses' chair, yet they can never speak as having authority, because they have lost their reputation in the consciences of men, by declining their steps from the way which they trace out to others; so that men had need continually have sounding in their ears this same 'Go not out;' so ready are they to depart from the church upon every voice.'

"The standard by which even men of the world estimate the episcopal character, is so elevated, that it is impossible for the highest virtues to exceed it, while a merely ordinary degree of propriety of conduct will fall far below it. For the author of these pages to attempt to delineate the perfection of that character would be quite presumptuous: he therefore leaves the sketch to better hands. He cannot, however, but remark, that the present times imperatively demand in our prelates the intimate combination of the two characteristics which separately distinguished Fenelon and Bossuet, of whom it was said, *L'un prouve la religion; l'autre la fait aimer*. The latter especially is peculiarly necessary in our own country; because the general tendency of the preaching and writings of many of our most eminent divines is rather to convince than to persuade; so that our clergy are often as defective in making a just appeal to the feelings of mankind, as some other churches are injudicious in employing them to the exclusion of sound argument and rational conviction." (P. 342—345.)

The third section refers to the *Means which the Clergy possess for exciting a Spirit of Devotion among the Members of the Church, and promoting her Influence.*

Among these, the author dwells more particularly upon their learning, soundness of doctrine, piety, amiableness of character, zeal, preaching, public and private ministrations, and unanimity among themselves:—a list of subjects well worthy of the most serious attention!

Notwithstanding the general respectability of the clergy of the Church of England, it is certain that our National Establishment has not hitherto exhibited that uniformly solid and sterling excellence, which, by better and fairer treatment, she might undoubtedly display. If provision were made in our Universities for an education more appropriate to the wants of the young men, who are hereafter to minister in holy things: if testimonials, instead of being granted almost as a matter of course, were discreetly bestowed: if zeal and fidelity in the discharge of public and parochial duties were honoured with due encouragement from those who have the power to reward them: if the tythe-system could be so modified as to preserve to the incumbent his just rights, and to remove that barrier of hostility which it so often creates, to the great detriment of religion, and the special injury of the Church: if in these and other corresponding points, the interests of piety and peace were more seriously consulted, we doubt not that multitudes who now look with some obliquity of regard to our National Church, would soon acknowledge her excellence, and be among the first to support and defend her. Mr. Wilks has dwelt with great force and persuasiveness upon most of these and other kindred topics; and if he is occasionally contented rather to throw out hints and suggestions than to offer a distinct and positive opinion, we are glad to find that on all those high matters which respect the doctrines and the conversation of a Christian minister, he speaks with that firmness and decision which arise from a deep sense of the paramount importance of true religion. On the subject of doctrines, we shall need to offer no apology for the following extract.

"It would ill become the writer of these pages to attempt to lay down a definite standard of all the minute particulars of correct doctrine; or to specify the exact point where fundamental and secondary topics appear to meet. He can only recommend, on this subject, to others, what he would earnestly desire to practise himself; namely, to 'search the Scriptures' with an unbiassed aim to discover truth, and with constant prayer to Him who is the enlightener of the ignorant; employing at the same time every subordinate assistance, and especially that afforded by the truly valuable formularies of our own church. The two greatest obstacles in the way of acquiring a correct knowledge of Scripture-doctrine, next to the natural ignorance and indifference of the human heart, are the love of system and the spirit of party. It is almost impossible for any person in the present day wholly to avoid these two sources of misconception; and we are all too apt to read the Scriptures themselves in such a way as to make them rather minister to, than correct, our prejudices. It is perhaps the wisest advice which can be given to a young student in divinity, to avoid irrevocably identifying himself with mere partizans on any side.

especially till he has had time and opportunity for taking a large and scriptural survey of the Gospel, and for weighing the writings of our most eminent divines; especially those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who flourished nearest the period of the Reformation, and best knew the principles on which our church was founded.

“But not to anticipate those observations on doctrine which may occur more at length in the remarks which will be made on preaching, the author will only say under the present head, that he believes the more forcibly and explicitly the clergy insist upon the great subjects of the Fall of man and the Atonement effected by Jesus Christ, including, of course, all that is connected with these fundamental topics;—as, for example, the personality and Divinity of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit; the doctrine of original and actual sin; the insufficiency of man to merit heaven by his own works; justification exclusively by faith; the need and nature of the Divine influences; the importance of the Christian sacraments; the necessity of conversion to God,—its character, its evidences, its results; with all the social, moral, and spiritual duties which become the Christian, and which are to be grounded upon evangelical principles—on love to God, and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;—the more scriptural will be their preaching, the greater will be the benefit to the souls of men, the better will the interests of Christian holiness be consulted, and the more conformable will be their doctrines with those of the Established Church.” (P. 375—377.)

In these views, we are persuaded that every intelligent and religious mind will readily concur. Happy would it be for the church, if they were universally maintained! How much misconception would be removed! how many misrepresentations avoided! what rash statements and uncharitable controversies would be spared!

The last subject of this section concerning unanimity among the clergy is in these days, alas! of peculiar importance; and it is one to which the author has evidently directed his frequent and solicitous attention.

“The necessity of union among the clergy was never more apparent than at the present moment. The church is assailed on all sides: infidelity in its various forms, from Socinianism to Deism, is at war with it; democracy is not less its enemy; ‘dissent on principle’ is, in numerous instances, attempting to sap its foundation; the temporal interests of those who would prefer to live without any religion to supporting a standing clergy, is throwing its weight into the same scale; religious enthusiasm is not unfrequently seen opposing it under the name of a mere ‘beggarly element,’ which can only debase and enslave an advanced Christian; while, worst of all, pride, worldliness, ambition, religious indifference, party animosities, and unhallowed controversy, are too often witnessed within its very pale.” (P. 449.)

Under these circumstances, it is a painful thing to see how bitterly one class of men carries on its warfare against another,

even within the pale of the Church, arranged under the same banners, and professedly engaged in the same righteous cause. Mr. Wilks is of opinion, that "if unanimity among our clergy is attainable at all, it can only be by means of a general extension of true piety united with a conscientious attachment to our common Church:" and he suggests many useful remarks with a view to facilitate that most important object. For ourselves, we confess that, looking at the state of things as they actually exist, we have little hope that the benevolent designs of the writer will be accomplished in the present generation: there is so much ignorance to be instructed, so much prejudice to be removed, so much violence to be mitigated, so much of party interest and partly feeling to be composed, that with respect to any great and speedy amelioration, we are utterly hopeless.

So serious, however, is the evil, that we should rejoice even in the slightest diminution of it; and the hints suggested by Mr. Wilks in his concluding section deserve the serious consideration of the whole clerical body. If we might venture to propose any additional reflections of our own, we should be disposed to lay great stress upon the co-operation for this purpose of our right reverend prelates, and would reckon among the means which the bishops possess of promoting the general welfare of the Church, and the common good of the people, the opportunities so eminently afforded them of conciliating contending parties, and extending among their clergy the spirit of peace, unity, and concord. The Bishop should consider himself, in his own diocese, in some measure like the Sovereign as it respects the kingdom at large: not as the head of *one* class of persons, but of all: not as the leader of a *party*, but as placed above all parties: not as the instrument of a faction, but as the common friend of all who acknowledge his jurisdiction, and as interested in the welfare of them all. If one peculiar and privileged class of men within the bosom of the Church have exclusive access to the ear of the bishop, and be allowed to appropriate to themselves his smiles and favour, while, through their influence, he is taught and tutored to treat with coldness, if not with public disapprobation and avowed hostility, every other clergyman in his diocese, however eminent his learning, however exemplary his life, however useful his ministry, there is an encouragement for party spirit which will not suffer it to die away; and the necessary result is increased alienation between those who ought to feel and to conduct themselves as brethren. But let a bishop know no distinctions among his clergy, except such as arise from personal integrity and personal worth, in the discharge of their sacred duties. Let him invite to his table, and bring together under the obvious impulse of kind and unprejudiced

feeling, those respectable persons who seem, and in some cases only seem, to be marching under different standards. Let him endeavour personally to correct their misconceptions of each other, and associate them in common works of benevolence, and under his own presiding and controuling discretion call into action their common energies. Let him act in this spirit, and we have no question that he will soon witness the happiest results. His clergy will reverently look to him as a counsellor, they will love him as a friend, and will learn, under his paternal care, "how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!"

With the sanction of the bishop, it would be easy to carry into effect another measure upon which Mr. Wilks expatiates, the establishment of "Clerical Associations;" and without that sanction, we can scarcely expect that the system should ever become general. The legitimate objects and beneficial tendencies of such institutions are well specified in a letter of Archbishop Tenison to the bishops of his province: and as the subject may be new to many of our readers, and is unquestionably important, we cite from this essay the following passage, which will serve at once to illustrate the views of the Archbishop, and to confirm our own.

"It were to be wished, that the clergy of every neighbourhood would agree upon frequent meetings to consult for the good of religion in general, and to advise with one another about any difficulties that may happen in their particular cures: by what methods any evil customs may most easily be broken; how a sinner may most effectually be reclaimed; and in general, how each of them in their several circumstances, may contribute most to the advancement of religion. Such consultations as these, besides the mutual benefit of advice and instruction, will be a natural means to excite the zeal of some, to reduce the over-eagerness of others to a due temper, and to provoke all to a religious emulation in the improvement of piety and order within their respective parishes. And these meetings might still be made a greater advantage to the clergy in carrying on the reformation of men's lives and manners, by inviting the churchwardens of their several parishes, and other pious persons among the laity, to join with them in the execution of the most probable methods that can be suggested for those good ends. And we may very reasonably expect the happy effects of such a concurrence, from the visible success of that noble zeal wherewith so many about the great cities in my neighbourhood do promote true piety and a reformation of manners. And therefore I desire you that you will particularly excite your clergy to the procuring such assistances as these, for the more effectual discharge of their own duty." (P. 457—459.)

To the utility of such institutions, we are furnished with the testimony of a distinguished and excellent prelate, now living,

the Archbishop of Tuam: who, in a recent letter to the clergy of his late diocese of Elphin, thus expresses himself:

" ' I offer my grateful thanks to you for having, under Providence, introduced into my late diocese, that most valuable institution, ' The Monthly Clerical Association,'—an institution, the progressive good effects of which I have observed among yourselves, and have thankfully experienced myself;—an institution which, though only in infancy, has already proved so great a blessing to the diocese of Elphin;—an institution which I would rejoice to see extended over the whole empire.' " (P. 459, 460.)

" The more," observes Mr. Wilks, after quoting the above passage, " the clergy can be thus brought together in an amicable and religious spirit; to sympathize in each other's afflictions; to animate each other to new zeal and exertion; to strengthen their mutual regard, and their attachment to their common church; to consult together for the promotion of piety, charity, and good works in their respective parishes; to benefit each other by a friendly communication of knowledge and professional information—the strong to support the weak—the bold to encourage the timid—the ardent to animate the lukewarm—the aged to counsel the young—and all to minister in their several capacities, and according to the measure of their knowledge and attainment, to the spiritual edification and pastoral efficiency of the whole;—the higher may rise our just expectations of what may be effected by their combined agency for the extension of religion and the influence of the Established Church." (P. 460.)

We rise from the perusal of this work, with a strong conviction of its utility; and we have no hesitation in warmly recommending it to all classes of our readers. It is written throughout in a truly charitable and Christian spirit. It is entirely free from bigotry and intolerance. There is nothing in it to flatter the formal churchman: nothing which can reasonably give umbrage to the conscientious dissenter. The arguments are candidly proposed, and in no case, that we have observed, are they ever pressed beyond their fair and legitimate bounds. The style is well suited to the matter: luminous, persuasive, and not rarely eloquent. Those who wish for arguments in support of the *Church of England*, will not find them particularly detailed in this volume: for they fall not within the subject of the essay: but on the general question of national establishments, and on the means by which we may give efficiency to our own, we know of no work which is so applicable to the present times, and which contains in so small a compass so much valuable and practical information.

**ART. IV.**—*Journal of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; performed in the Years 1819-20, in His Majesty's Ships Hecla and Griper, under the Orders of William Edward Parry, RN, FRS, and Commander of the Expedition. With an Appendix, containing the Scientific and other Observations. Published by Authority of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. 4to. Murray. London, 1821.*

WE have had much of the scenery of France, Italy, and Greece, presented to us by the travellers, tourists, rambler, and loungers, who have of late years overrun the Continent. We have been saturated with glowing descriptions of vales and vineyards, and glittering waves, and hues of paradise. Our ears have been wearied with the sound of castanets and guitars, as our smell with the odours of orange flower and myrtle. From the voluptuous region of the south, the land of triple harvests and balmy gales, of beautiful forms, and sun-bright scenery,—we turn our eyes to the scenes, where

Throned in his palace of cerulean ice,  
Stern winter holds his unrejoicing court,  
And through his airy hall the loud misrule  
Of driving tempest is for ever heard.

In the travels to which we have referred, we read of mountains, whose horrific gorges disclose peril and destruction. But in their most direful aspects, their most grim and grisly features, there is always some lurking association of the picturesque, some element of pleasure, which, assisted by a consciousness of the power of escape, resolves our sensations into the simple emotion of the sublime. Volcanoes present awful scenes, but they are found mostly in luxuriant countries; and the fainting nerves may recover their tone by a quick transition to prospects of peace and beauty. Cataracts too, we will number among the terrors of nature. But these are confessedly lovely in their frowns, and we view them with a complacency, greatly increased by a sense of personal security. But in the subject of Captain Parry's work, there is nothing to redeem the unmingled terror of scenes impressing on us an appalling certainty of almost total privation,—scenes of utter desolation, apparently the sepulchre of nature, where the eye looks in vain for objects, and the ear listens only to "death-like silence, and a dread repose;" amidst "rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death."

Uncouth and forbidding as seem the materials of such a story, it is impossible not to follow with sympathy and admiration the track of these daring adventurers; to participate in their struggles and disappointments, and in those scanty pleasures which



seem, as it were, wrung from the churlishness of the region, and prove the energy and buoyancy of man's spirit—self-supported and self-fed,—amidst

“ The wreck of matter, and the crush of worlds.”

We have resolved to have the entertainment of the general reader only in view, in the account we are about to give, and shall therefore not trouble ourselves with ascertaining the harvest of science which may have been gathered in this expedition. If the reader for amusement can be indifferent to the learned details of this valuable production, he cannot but be delighted to dwell on the glorious visions so peculiarly the privilege of the polar skies, the coruscations and colours of the Aurora Borealis, the halos, the prismatic parhelia, and other novelties that diversify the phenomena of the sun and the moon. He will smile to hear of the difficulty of ploughing through ice at midsummer, of the stars shining at noon, of reading and writing at midnight, by the light of the sun; and he may, perhaps, have heard enough of the compass to admire its neutralized state—during its proximity to the pole. He will experience the *immixtio horrore voluptas*, when conducted under the brows of ice-bergs a hundred and forty feet high,—those stupendous monuments of the power of frost, which seem erected by winter, on the confines of his dominions, as samples of the dread magnificence of his reign—against which the waves, laden with floating fragments of ice, threaten to crush the too frail and adventurous bark; and at the havoc produced by the shock of conflicting ice, when an almost dimensionless body, with a momentum proportioned to its bulk, and the force of the current which impels it, is drifted against a steadfast promontory. And he will imagine with breathless interest, the struggle to escape from a closing barrier of ice which approaches in hideous shapeless masses, to destroy the vessels in its rugged embraces.

But all hearts must sympathize in the hardships of our seamen off Melville Island. Solitude, darkness, hunger, cold, labour and pain,—these were the lot of the navigators, for a period of nearly ten months' imprisonment, “ in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.” Darkness, it is true, receded after the usual term, the three months of the polar night. But returning light only renewed the impression of surrounding desolation. If, when the rigour of the season abated, a spot of ground was descried, which disclosed the hue of soil or of vegetation, it was hailed with almost the same delight as the Oasis of the African desert. Even a stone afforded refreshment to eyes, weary of the illimitable waste of snow which constituted this wintry universe.

At that awful period of which we are speaking, when the ex-

tremes of cold and darkness forbade all wandering from the ships, and suspended all outward business, we cannot but applaud the wisdom of Captain Parry's expedients to promote cheerfulness and occupation through all ranks of his little community. Aware that mutation is the law of all things, and that motion is not less essential to the health of the moral than of the material world, he devised amusements for the idle, the unlearned, the witty, and the industrious, by instituting the representation of plays, and the establishment of a newspaper. In the course of his narrative, he frequently adverts to the health, cheerfulness, and activity of his crew; and, from his unremitting attention to their minds and bodies, their welfare and accommodation, and his indefatigable prosecution of the grand object of his pursuit, he appears to have been eminently qualified for the trust reposed in him, and for the enterprise of which he was appointed the instrument,—the discovery of the North West Passage. Of the existence of this passage, Captain Parry entertains no doubt, although insuperable obstacles, and the limits of his appointed time, compelled him to relinquish the attempt to realize it in the particular direction in which he made the attempt. But as it is not our object to enter into the philosophical part of the subject, by any inquiry into the merits of this great problem in modern navigation, we shall continue our sketch of those features of the narrative which are most calculated to afford amusement.

One of the most arduous of the operations that called forth the energies of the crews during this expedition, was what is termed by northern navigators "warping through the ice."

"This method, which is often adopted by our whalers, has the obvious advantage of applying the whole united force in separating the masses of ice which lie in the way of the first ship, allowing the second, or even third, to follow close astern, with very little obstruction. In this manner, we had advanced about four miles to the westward, by eight p. m. after eleven hours of very laborious exertion."

But this may be considered pastime, compared with succeeding exertions. After the failure of repeated efforts at the close of the season, to penetrate still further to the westward, during which the ships seemed to escape only by miracle from "upper, nether, and surrounding" ice; now, with no guide but the stars, threading an opening of clear water amidst the intricacies of the floating bodies,—now taking shelter from them in nooks, formed by those mountain masses which had fixed themselves to the shore, Captain Parry was compelled, reluctantly, to pause in his career, and to revolve seriously the means of securing a place of refuge from the increasing severity of the season. That

he did not falter, overawed by the growing perils of his enterprise, is abundantly manifest in the records of his journal. The difficulties which at length determined him to relinquish any further prosecution of his undertaking, are simply and clearly expressed in the following words :

“ The advanced period of the season, the unpromising appearance of the ice to the westward, and the risk to the ships with which the navigation had been attended for some days past, naturally led me to the conclusion that, under these circumstances, the time had arrived, when it became absolutely necessary to look out for winter-quarters. Among the circumstances which now rendered this navigation more than usually perilous, and the hope of success proportionally less, there was none which gave more reasonable ground for apprehension than the incredible rapidity with which the young ice formed upon the surface of the sea, during the greater part of the twenty-four hours. It had become evident, indeed, that it could only be attributed to the strong winds which had lately prevailed, that the sea was not at this time permanently frozen over ; for, whenever the wind blew less than a gale, that formation took place immediately, and went on with such astonishing rapidity, that had the weather continued calm for more than four-and-twenty hours together, it seemed to me extremely probable, that we must have passed the winter in our present exposed and insecure situation.” (P. 93, 94.)

“ At half-past two, on the morning of the 22d, the night-signal was made to weigh, and we began to heave at our cables ; but such was the difficulty of raising our anchor, and of hauling in our hawsers, owing to the stiffness of the ropes from frost, and the quantity of ice which had accumulated about them, that it was five o'clock before the ships were under way. Our rudder also was so choked by the ice which had formed about it, that it could not be moved till a boat had been hauled under the stern, and the ice beaten and cut away from it.” (P. 94.)

Having decided on the expediency of establishing themselves in winter quarters, and narrowly escaped being frozen up in mid ocean on their return eastward, the operation of “ cutting into winter harbour,” is detailed in the following extract, which we submit to the curiosity of our readers, without any comments of our own.

“ As soon as our people had breakfasted I proceeded, with a small party of men, to sound, and to mark with boarding pikes upon the ice, the most direct channel we could find to the anchorage ; having left directions for every other officer and man in both ships to be employed in cutting the canal. This operation was performed by first marking out two parallel lines, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the larger ship. Along each of these lines a cut was then made with an ice-saw, and others again at right angles to them, at intervals of from ten to twenty feet ; thus dividing the ice into

a number of rectangular pieces, which it was again necessary to subdivide diagonally, in order to give room for their being floated out of the canal. On returning from the upper part of the harbour, where I had marked out what appeared to be the best situation for our winter-quarters, I found that considerable progress had been made in cutting the canal, and in floating the pieces out of it. To facilitate the latter part of the process, the seamen, who are always fond of doing things in their own way, took advantage of a fresh northerly breeze, by setting some boats' sails upon the pieces of ice, a contrivance which saved both time and labour. This part of the operation, however, was by far the most troublesome, principally on account of the quantity of young ice which formed in the canal, and especially about the entrance, where, before sun-set, it had become so thick that a passage could no longer be found for the detached pieces, without considerable trouble in breaking it. At half past seven P.M. we weighed our anchors, and began to warp up the canal, but the northerly wind blew so fresh, and the people were so much fatigued, having been almost constantly at work for nineteen hours, that it was midnight before we reached the termination of our first day's labour." (P. 97.)

"All hands were again set to work on the morning of the 25th, when it was proposed to sink the pieces of ice, as they were cut, under the floe, instead of floating them out, the latter mode having now become impracticable on account of the lower part of the canal, through which the ships had passed, being hard frozen during the night. To effect this, it was necessary for a certain number of men to stand upon one end of the piece of ice which it was intended to sink, while other parties, hauling at the same time upon ropes attached to the opposite end, dragged the block under that part of the floe on which the people stood. The officers of both ships took the lead in this employ, several of them standing up to their knees in water frequently during the day, with the thermometer generally at 12°, and never higher than 16°. At six P.M. we began to move the ships. The *Griper* was made fast astern of the *Hecla*, and the two ships' companies being divided on each bank of the canal, with ropes from the *Hecla's* gangways, soon drew the ships along to the end of our second day's work.

"I should, on every account, have been glad to make this a day of rest to the officers and men; but the rapidity with which the ice increased in thickness, in proportion as the general temperature of the atmosphere diminished, would have rendered a day's delay of serious importance. I ordered the work, therefore, to be continued at the usual time in the morning; and such was the spirited and cheerful manner in which this order was complied with, as well as the skill which had now been acquired in the art of sawing and sinking the ice, that, although the thermometer was at 6° in the morning, and rose no higher than 9° during the day, we had completed the canal at noon, having effected more in four hours than on either of the two preceding days. The whole length of this canal was four thousand and eighty-two yards, or nearly two miles and one-third, and the average thickness of the ice was seven inches.

"At half past one PM. we began to track the ships along in the same manner as before, and at a quarter past three we reached our winter quarters, and hailed the event with three loud and hearty cheers from both ships' companies." (P. 98.)

The next step towards winter comfort was the erection of housings over the ships, consisting of a frame-work, resting on the gunwale, and roofed over with a cloth, composed of wadding tilt.

"The boats, spars, running rigging, and sails, were removed on shore, in order to give as much room as possible on our upper deck, to enable the people to take exercise on board, whenever the weather should be too inclement for walking on shore. It was absolutely necessary, also, for the preservation of our sails and ropes, all of which were hard-frozen, that they should be kept in that state till the return of spring; for, as it was now impossible to get them dried, owing to the constantly low temperature of the atmosphere, they would, probably, have soon rotted had they been kept in any part of the ships, where the warmth would occasion them to thaw; they were, therefore, placed with the boats on shore, and a covering of canvass fixed over them." (P. 102.)

"In order to prolong the healthy state of the crews, and to promote the comfort of all, such arrangements were made for the warmth and dryness of the births and bed-places, as circumstances appeared to require; and in this respect some difficulties were to be overcome, which could not, perhaps, have been anticipated. Soon after our arrival in Winter Harbour, when the temperature of the atmosphere had fallen considerably below zero of Fahrenheit, we found that the steam from the coppers, as well as the breath and other vapour generated in the inhabited parts of the ship, began to condense into drops upon the beams and the sides, to such a degree as to keep them constantly wet. In order to remove this serious evil, it was necessary to adopt such means for producing a sufficient warmth, combined with due ventilation, as might carry off the vapour, and thus prevent its settling on any part of the ship." (P. 103.)

All that art and ingenuity could devise to remedy this inconvenience, was effected: but it was inseparable from the nature of their situation; and continued to harass them in a greater or less degree, according to the temperature of the air, during their winter confinement.

We pass over the detail of the internal economy of the ship, highly honourable though it be to the vigilant and paternal administration of Captain Parry. The good order and healthfulness of the crews sufficiently attest the wisdom of his regulations. We proceed with our extracts.

"Among the many fortunate circumstances which had attended us during this first season of our navigation, there was none more striking than the opportune time at which the ships were securely placed in harbour; for on the very night of our arrival, the 26th of Septem-

ber, the thermometer fell to  $-1^{\circ}$ ; and, on the following day, the sea was observed from the hills to be quite frozen over, as far as the eye could reach; nor was any open water seen after this period." (P. 107.)

"After our arrival in port, we saw several rein-deer, and a few coveys of grouse; but the country is so destitute of every thing like cover of any kind, that our sportsmen were not successful in their hunting excursions, and we procured only three rein-deer, previously to the migration of these and the other animals from the island, which took place before the close of the month of October, leaving only the wolves and foxes to bear us company during the winter." (P. 107.)

A hunting party had remained out too long, in the month of October, and one of them had been frost-bitten in his hands, from the imprudence of carrying a musket in them, without mittens, so as to require the amputation of three of his fingers.

"The effect which exposure to severe frost has, in benumbing the mental as well as the corporal faculties, was very striking in this man, as well as in two of the young gentlemen who returned after dark, and of whom we were anxious to make inquiries respecting Pearson. When I sent for them into my cabin, they looked wild, spoke thick and indistinctly, and it was impossible to draw from them a rational answer to any of our questions. After being on board for a short time, the mental faculties appeared gradually to return with the returning circulation, and it was not till then that a looker-on could easily persuade himself that they had not been drinking too freely. To those who have been much accustomed to cold countries this will be no new remark, but I cannot help thinking (and it is with this view that I speak of it) that many a man may have been punished for intoxication, who was only suffering from the benumbing effects of frost." (P. 108, 109.)

One advantage attending this expedition, was the constant supply of fresh water from snow, in the absence of which, melted ice was substituted, after the salt water had been drained from it.

We have heard of the loud noises in cold countries, incident to buildings of timber. A loud crack was heard one night about the Griper's bends, which gave them the idea of something straining, or giving way.

"This noise, however, which occurred very frequently afterwards, as the cold became more intense, proved to be nothing more than that which is not unusually heard in houses in cold countries, being occasioned by the freezing and expansion of the juices contained in wood not thoroughly seasoned."

In October, we are told,

"Nothing could exceed the beauty of the sky, to the south-east and south-west, at sun-rise and sun-set, about this period: near the

horizon, there was generally a rich bluish purple, and a bright arch of deep red above, the one mingling imperceptibly with the other."

No molestation was suffered from the wolves. They seem to have behaved very courteously to the strangers.

"About the time of the sun's leaving us, the wolves began to approach the ships more boldly, howling most piteously on the beach near us, sometimes for hours together; and, on one or two occasions, coming along side the ships, when every thing was quiet, at night; but we seldom saw more than one or two together, and therefore could form no idea of their number. These animals were always very shy of coming near our people, and though evidently suffering much from hunger, never attempted to attack any of them. The white foxes used also to visit the ships at night, and one of these was caught in a trap, set under the Griper's bows."

"On this and the two following nights, we were occupied from five to seven hours in taking lunar distances in the open air, the thermometer being from  $-34^{\circ}$  to  $-36^{\circ}$ . This we did without any material inconvenience, as long as the weather continued calm or nearly so; but with a moderate breeze it soon became too painful to handle the screws of the sextant. The difficulty of making observations in this climate is not, however, confined to the sensation of cold produced by handling the instruments, or by standing still for several hours together at so low a temperature; but it is also necessary to hold the breath very carefully during the time of making the observation; for if the least vapour be suffered to touch the instrument, it is immediately converted into a coat of ice, which dims the glasses, and renders the instrument unserviceable till the ice has been thawed, and the instrument thoroughly cleaned. Our sextants were somewhat injured, in the cold weather, by the cracking of the silver on the horizon and index glasses, arising, as we supposed, from the unequal contraction of the two substances." (P. 118, 119.)

"About this part of the winter, we began to experience a more serious inconvenience from the bursting of the lemon-juice bottles by frost, the whole contents being frequently frozen into a solid mass, except a small portion of highly concentrated acid in the centre, which, in most instances, was found to have leaked out, so that when the ice was thawed, it was little better than water. This evil increased to a very alarming degree in the course of the winter: some cases being opened in which more than two-thirds of the lemon-juice was thus destroyed, and the remainder rendered nearly inefficient. It was at first supposed that this accident might have been prevented by not quite filling the bottles, but it was afterwards found, that the corks flying out did not save them from breaking. We observed that the greatest damage was done in those cases which were stowed nearest to the ship's side, and we, therefore, removed all the rest amidships, a precaution which, had it been sooner known and adopted, would probably have prevented, at least, a part of the mischief. The vinegar, also, became frozen in the casks in the same manner,

and lost a great deal of its acidity when thawed. This circumstance conferred an additional value on a few gallons of very highly concentrated vinegar, which had been sent out on trial, upon this and the preceding voyage, and which, when mixed with six or seven times its own quantity of water, was sufficiently acid for every purpose." (P. 21.)

"We had frequent occasion, in our walks on shore, to remark the deception which takes place in estimating the distance and magnitude of objects, when viewed over an unvaried surface of snow. It was not uncommon for us to direct our steps towards what we took to be a large mass of stone, at the distance of half a mile from us, but which we were able to take up in our hands after one minute's walk. This was more particularly the case, when ascending the brow of a hill, nor did we find that the deception became less, on account of the frequency with which we experienced its effects." (P. 125.)

"In several of the accounts given of those countries in which an intense degree of natural cold is experienced, some effects are attributed to it which certainly did not come under our observation in the course of this winter. The first of these is the dreadful sensation said to be produced on the lungs, causing them to feel as if torn asunder, when the air is inhaled at a very low temperature. No such sensation was ever experienced by us, though in going from the cabins into the open air, and *vice versa*, we were constantly in the habit for some months of undergoing a change of from 80° to 100°, and, in several instances, 120°, of temperature in less than one minute: and what is still more extraordinary, not a single inflammatory complaint, beyond a slight cold which was cured by common care in a day or two, occurred during this particular period. The second is, the vapour with which the air of an inhabited room is charged, condensing into a shower of snow, immediately on the opening of a door or window, communicating with the external atmosphere. This goes much beyond any thing that we had an opportunity of observing. What happened with us was simply this: on the opening of the doors at the top and bottom of our hatchway ladders, the vapour was immediately condensed by the sudden admission of the cold air, into a visible form, exactly resembling a very thick smoke, which settled on all the pannels of the doors and bulk-heads, and immediately froze, by which means the latter were covered with a thick coating of ice which it was necessary frequently to scrape off; but we never, to my knowledge, witnessed the conversion of the vapour into snow, during the fall." (P. 134.)

It is remarkable, that most of the animals were white; such as the bears, wolves, foxes, and hares. Whales too, are mentioned as being sometimes white, as well as black, but not in the region of which we are speaking.

On the 3d of February, the sun was seen from the Hecla's main top, for the first time, after an absence of eighty-four days below the horizon. On the 4th, they had another sight of it;



but it was so distorted by refraction, that nothing like a circular disc could at any time be distinguished.

"The distance at which sounds were heard in the open air, during the continuance of intense cold, was so great as constantly to afford matter of surprise to us, notwithstanding the frequency with which we had occasion to remark it. We have, for instance, often heard people distinctly conversing, in a common tone of voice, at the distance of a mile; and to-day I heard a man singing to himself as he walked along the beach at even a greater distance than this."

Our readers will expect some description of the appearance of the Aurora Borealis. Out of many which occur in this work, we select the following as short and pleasing.

In the month of February,

"At half-past ten PM. on the 19th, the aurora borealis was seen," as described by Lieutenant Beechey, "in bright coruscations, shooting principally from the SbW. quarter across the zenith to NNE., and partially in every part of the heavens. The light, when most vivid, was of a pale yellow, at other times white, excepting to the southward, in which direction a dull red tinge was now and then perceptible. The coruscations had a tremulous waving motion, and most of them were crooked towards the ENE. The fresh gale which blew at the time from the NNE. appeared to have no effect on the aurora, which, as before observed, streamed directly to windward, and this with great velocity. The brighter part of this meteor dimmed whatever stars it passed over, even those of the first magnitude, and those of the second and third magnitude, so much as to render them scarcely visible." (P. 147.)

"The whole of the phenomenon disappeared in about three quarters of an hour."

"With our present temperature, the breath of a person, at a little distance, looked exactly like the smoke of a musket just fired, and that of a party of men employed upon the ice to-day resembled a thick white cloud."

About this time the house on shore was discovered to be on fire. All the officers and men of both ships instantly ran up to extinguish it.

"The appearance which our faces presented at the fire was a curious one, almost every nose and cheek having become quite white with frost-bites in five minutes after being exposed to the weather; so that it was deemed necessary for the medical gentlemen, together with some others appointed to assist them, to go constantly round, while the men were working at the fire, and to rub with snow the parts affected, in order to restore animation. Notwithstanding this precaution, which, however, saved many frost-bites, we had an addition of no less than sixteen men to the sick-lists of both ships in consequence of this accident."

One man not having time to put on his gloves, had his fingers in half an hour so benumbed, and the animation so completely suspended, that "on his being taken on board by Mr. Edwards, and having his hands plunged into a basin of cold water, the surface of the water was immediately frozen by the intense cold thus suddenly communicated to it; and, notwithstanding the most humane and unremitting attention paid to them by the medical gentlemen, it was found necessary, some time after, to resort to the amputation of a part of four fingers on one hand and three on the other."

"At half-past eleven AM. a halo appeared round the sun, at the distance of  $22^{\circ}.17$  from it, consisting of a circle nearly complete, and strongly prismatic. Three parhelia, or mock suns, were distinctly seen upon this circle; the first being directly over the sun, and one on each side of it, at its own altitude. The prismatic tints were much more brilliant in the parhelia than in any other part of the circle: but red, yellow, and blue, were the only colours which could be traced, the first of these being invariably next the sun in all the phenomena of this kind which came under our observation. From the sun itself several rays of white light, continuous but not very brilliant, extended in various directions beyond the halo, and these rays were more bright after they had passed through the circle, than they were in the part within it: this phenomenon continued for nearly two hours." (P. 152.)

"The severe weather which, until the last two or three days, we had experienced for a length of time, had been the means of keeping in a solid state all the vapour which had accumulated and frozen upon the ships' sides on the lower deck. As long as it continued in this state, it did not prove a source of annoyance, especially as it had no communication with the bed-places. On the contrary, indeed, I had imagined, whether justly or otherwise I know not, that a lining of this kind rather did good than harm, by preventing the escape of a certain portion of the warmth through the ships' sides. The late mildness of the weather, however, having caused a thaw to take place below, it now became necessary immediately to scrape off the coating of ice; and it will, perhaps, be scarcely credited that we this day removed above one hundred buckets full, each containing from five to six gallons, being the accumulation which had taken place in an interval of less than four weeks. It may be observed, that this vapour must principally have been produced from the men's breath, and from the steam of their victuals during meals, that from the coppers being effectually carried on deck by the screen which I have before mentioned." (P. 154, 155.)

In March a bird was seen that was conjectured to be an owl.

"It was a novelty to us to see any living animal in this desolate spot; for even the wolves and foxes, our occasional visitors during the winter, had almost entirely deserted us for several weeks past."

In the beginning of June, a plan was formed and executed, of travelling over Melville Island, by way of extending our acquaintance with these shores. The particulars of the journey are chiefly interesting, as they show the triumph of courage and perseverance over new difficulties, and untried dangers. Although the summer was so far advanced, they found little variation in the wintry aspect of things. The most grievous circumstance in this excursion was the "snow blindness," a painful inflammation of the eyes, with which most of the party were afflicted, in consequence of the exposure to the intense glare of the sun on the snow. Some mitigation of the evil was devised, by means of black crape veils, and they prosecuted their forlorn march over "many a frozen alp," with less suffering, if not with greater comfort. A few wild flowers, with some tufts of grass, moss, and sorrel, at length betrayed the secret progress of the season. Some game too, such as ptarmigan and grouse, afforded an agreeable refreshment to travellers, who, though journeying on *Terra Firma*, were still condemned to the diet of ship-board. The relics of some Esquimaux huts, proved that the summer game in this island was sometimes temptation sufficient to attract hunters from among the neighbouring Indians. The detachment returned to the ships in good health, after an absence of fifteen days.

The following extract illustrates what we have often heard of the northern summer—that it comes almost like the changing of scenes in a pantomime, as if by the waving of a magical wand.

"The ravines, which had no water in them a week before, were now discharging such deep and rapid torrents into the sea, as to render them quite impassable. The suddenness with which the changes take place during the short season, which may be called summer, in this climate, must appear very striking when it is remembered that, for a part of the first week in June, we were under the necessity of thawing artificially the snow, which we made use of for water during the early part of our journey to the northward; that, during the second week, the ground was in most parts so wet and swampy that we could with difficulty travel; and that, had we not returned before the end of the third week, we should probably have been prevented doing so for some time, by the impossibility of crossing the ravines without great danger of being carried away by the torrents, an accident that happened to our hunting parties on one or two occasions, in endeavouring to return with their game to the ships." (P. 211.)

One of the most important benefits afforded by the warm season, proved to be an abundance of sorrel, a plant possessed of powerful antiscorbutic properties, which, with the fresh meat procured by the hunting parties, contributed essentially to that

general health so frequently recorded in the journal. Before we leave Melville Island, we must give a principal feature in its scenery. But we cannot so immediately lower the tone of our feelings, excited by the tenor of Captain Parry's narrative, as to persuade ourselves that, under such circumstances, these "horrid rifts" could have been contemplated with any reference to the pleasure of the "*picturesque*."

"The place to which we had now walked, was the eastern bank of the largest ravine we had ever seen upon the island; its width at the part next the sea being above half a mile, and its sides, which are nearly perpendicular, not less than eight hundred feet in height. In watching the little stream, not more than a yard or two wide and a few inches in depth, now trickling along the bottom of this immense water-course, it was impossible not to be forcibly struck with the consideration of the time which must have been required, with means apparently so inadequate, to hew out so vast a bed for the annual discharge of the winter's snow into the ocean." (P. 250, 251.)

When the middle of July came, unaccompanied with any immediate prospect of being liberated from the ice, Captain Parry began to despond, as to the ultimate object of his ambition. It was not till the beginning of August, that we find them fairly under weigh, and renewing their warfare against the hummocks, and flocs, and fields of ice, that opposed their progress to the west. They arrived at the longitude of  $113^{\circ}$ , the westernmost meridian hitherto reached in the polar sea to the north of America:—when, for the second and last time, oppressed by impossibilities, they abandoned the object of their protracted, though unavailing struggle.

We must not omit to inform our readers, that in the longitude of  $110^{\circ}$ , west from Greenwich, and  $74^{\circ}$  of latitude, off the coast of Melville Island, and not far from Winter Harbour, the two ships "became entitled to the sum of five thousand pounds, being the reward offered by the King's order in council, grounded on a late Act of Parliament, to such of his Majesty's subjects as might succeed in penetrating thus far to the westward within the Arctic Circle."

On the homeward passage they were visited by a canoe of Indians, from the coast of Baffin's Bay, which visit they duly returned on shore. After the usual intercourse and traffic with this kind of people, the parties separated mutually pleased and satisfied.

On taking leave of the regions of the ice, we meet with Captain Parry's reflections on the great question of the communication with the Pacific, and some remarks on the whale fisheries, which will doubtless have their weight with those whose interests are connected with this subject.

Subjoined is a copious appendix, chiefly pertaining to matters purely nautical, the mysteries of which only a few of our readers would wish to be developed; and the whole is enriched with illustrative charts and engravings, beautifully executed, and judiciously chosen.

Some will be deterred by the size, and many by the subject, from a perusal of Captain Parry's book: and indeed it seems, at first, to require some portion of the courage and perseverance of that distinguished commander, to reconcile us to so laborious a task. But those, in whom the natural appetite for truth is not vitiated by fiction, whose minds are not enervated by the exclusive contemplation of beauty, and whose love of knowledge extends beyond the limits of dilettanti criticism, will rise from the volume amused and instructed, with a just impression of the simple elegance of its style, and the authentic character of its narration.

#### ART. V.—PRESENT STATE OF THE GREEK CHURCH IN RUSSIA.

1. *Considerations sur la Doctrine et l'Esprit de l'Eglise Orthodoxe.* Par Alexandre de Stourdza. 8vo. Stuttgart.
2. *The Present State of the Greek Church in Russia; or, a Summary of Christian Divinity,* by Platon, late Metropolitan of Moscow. Translated from the Slavonian. By Robert Pinkerton. 8vo. Oliphant and Co. Edinburgh, 1814.
3. *Four Russian Discourses, translated from the Manuscripts of the Most Reverend Michael Desnitzski, present Metropolitan of Novogorod and St. Petersburg, and first Member of the Holy Synod.* 8vo. Westley. London, 1820.

THE Greek church has for many ages been in chains at Constantinople; but at present she is seated on the throne at Petersburg, and is resuming her proper rank in the universal church. Until of late years, little comparatively has been known concerning this branch of the Christian church. Dr. King's *'Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia,'* published in 1772, present an interesting, though somewhat prolix account of her worship and discipline, and a brief, though not very satisfactory notice of the doctrines professed by her: but it was not until Mr. (now Dr.) Pinkerton translated Platon's *'Summary of Christian Divinity'* from the Slavonian, and M. Stourdza published his *'Considerations,'* that we had any authentic account or standard of the faith and morals of the Russian church.

The 'Orthodox Doctrine or Summary of Christian Divinity' of the venerable Platon, late Metropolitan of Moscow, is divided into three parts, treating, 1. Of the knowledge of God as derived from nature, being subservient to the belief of the gospel: 2. Of the faith of the gospel: and 3. Of the law of God. Each of these parts is subdivided into sections, which are illustrated with numerous apposite passages of Scripture; and the whole is drawn up with great simplicity and perspicuity. The translation of Dr. Pinkerton, it may be proper to inform our readers, made its appearance in the year 1814: but as it supplies some valuable historical facts not noticed by M. Stourdza, we have been induced to call their attention to our countryman's very interesting volume.

The 'Considerations' of M. Stourdza, though they bear the date of 1816, have only been lately imported into this country: they are drawn up in a manner somewhat different from that which is adopted by Platon, and are divided into three books. The first treats on the doctrines professed by the orthodox church; the second is appropriated to the subject of rites and discipline; and the third contains an historical notice relative to the eastern and western churches. The author of this work is a counsellor of state to the present Emperor of Russia, who distinguished himself among the political circles of the continent by a memoir on the real state of Germany, which he presented to the congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, and which is said to have produced a deep sensation among the publicists of that country. A similar sensation, we understand, was produced among those diplomatists, who are particularly connected with the court of Russia, by the publication of the '*Considerations*,' which was regarded as an official piece, composed by command of the Emperor Alexander. From the French, it was speedily translated into German by Kotzebue, who has since fallen a victim to the assassin Sandt, and who, it is well known, was the political resident of the Russian sovereign in Germany. M. Stourdza's volume, he informs us, was occasioned by the attempts made by certain *heterodox* persons (so the Russians term the Roman Catholics), who were domiciled in Russia, to disturb the consciences, and excite doubts in the minds of the faithful concerning the doctrines professed by the eastern church: in consequence of which proceedings the Jesuits have been expelled from the Russian dominions. But their restless spirit of proselytism, it is added, is not confined to those cities where an asylum had been granted to them. Several islands, in the Archipelago, in which some Latin monks have succeeded in introducing themselves, present the most striking contrast between the two modes of worship. The few families, which have embraced *hete*-

*rodoxy*, are represented as being agitated by the most deplorable fanaticism. From the warmth, indeed, with which our author expresses himself concerning all who are connected with the church of Rome, we suspect that her missionaries have been more successful than he is willing to admit. Subjugated by the missionaries, they are (he says) averse from intermarrying with the orthodox Christians: every possible expedient is made use of to disunite the nearest relatives, to effect abjurations by surprise, to administer baptism by sprinkling, either by force or persuasion, and to authorize the most *antisocial* prejudices. The consequence is, that these emissaries of the see of Rome are held in detestation throughout Greece: and in different parts of his work our author combats the errors of the Romish church with considerable success.

That we may not extend this article to an unnecessary length, we shall confine our attention chiefly to those points of doctrine or discipline, in which the Russian church differs from the Protestants and Roman Catholics; and shall draw our information from the volumes of Platon and M. Stourdza, according as either appears to have stated them with the greater perspicuity.

1. We commence with the doctrine of the Trinity, concerning which the Greek church differs both from the Protestant and from the Romish churches. There are few articles of the Christian faith, respecting which so many crude speculations have been hazarded, because there is none perhaps on which the uninspired mind of man has less to offer. Into this error M. Stourdza appears, in our judgment, to have fallen. Having stated generally that this doctrine is indicated in various scattered passages of the Old Testament, and that it was developed by Jesus Christ, he proceeds to offer the following theory of it; which we shall give in his own words, lest we should misrepresent any of his ideas by translation.

“ L'antiquité avait pressenti les propriétés et la destination du nombre ternaire. Ou plutôt elle possédait une tradition confuse transmise par les premiers âges du monde. Soit que l'on veuille envisager ce nombre comme un simple signe; ou que l'on consente à lui attribuer une signification et une valeur intrinsèque, il n'en est pas moins vrai que le mystérieux triangle contient l'emblème du principe divin et humain. Son sommet est l'unité génératrice du nombre deux, qui par ces deux côtés tracés en ligne divergente caractérise la série des êtres croissante à l'infini. En le considérant sous le point de vue opposé, il devient l'emblème de l'association primitive de deux êtres qui engendrent par leur fusion un nouvel être. A cela près, on ne saurait se défendre d'un mouvement de surprise et d'admiration en retrouvant cette combinaison du nombre ternaire, dans toutes les harmonies de l'intelligence et de la nature. On n'en citera ici que quelques unes. Les trois facultés de l'ame, d'après Platon et autres philosophes, les trois

imperfections de l'homme, qui y correspondent, les trois actes de la nature humaine, c'est-à-dire la perception, la détermination et l'action. La triple division du tems qui correspond à tous les instans<sup>de</sup> notre existence, et produit en nous le souvenir, la conscience de nous mêmes, et la prévision. Les trois membres qui composent le syllogisme ; les trois ramifications de la faculté sensitive représentative, je veux dire, le désir, la jouissance et sa reproduction imaginaire qui constituent les trois élémens du bonheur, les trois vertus théologales, les trois principes d'existence, la création, la conservation, la reproduction, les trois régnes de la nature, les trois dimensions de la matière et autres harmonies. Peut-on de bonne foi considérer ces analogies comme fortuites ; et surtout lorsqu'on en fait l'application à ce sublime passage de la Genèse, qui est la clef de toutes les découvertes que l'esprit humain puisse faire dans les régions supérieures.

“ Dieu créa l'homme à son image et ressemblance.

“ Or l'homme est évidemment ternaire, soit qu'on le considère moralement comme le produit de la raison, du sentiment, et de la volonté ; soit qu'embrassant tout son être on retrouve en lui, *le principe pensant, le principe de vie, et les formes matérielles* ; soit enfin, qu'on l'envisage dans ses rapports avec l'univers et avec ses semblables, c'est à dire comme un être essentiellement actif. Dès lors il se manifeste par trois attributs qui embrassent et absorbent tous les autres. Ce sont *la pensée, la parole, et l'action*. Ici se dévoilent les grandes analogies entre le Créateur et la créature, telles qu'elles sont constatées par les Saintes Ecritures. Tâchons de les développer, afin que cette étude nous conduise à reconnaître la pureté du dogme enseigné par notre Eglise.

“ Tout est harmonie dans la création ; tout l'est aussi dans la religion révélée. Moïse, au commencement de la Genèse, nous annonce la mystérieuse similitude de l'homme, avec son Créateur. St. Jean, ce disciple chéri de l'Homme-Dieu, nous déclare l'éternelle existence de la parole. Quoiqu'il ne soit pas facile de saisir au premier coup-d'œil l'affinité de ces deux passages des Saintes Ecritures, il n'en est pas moins vrai, qu'ils servent à s'expliquer mutuellement. Car le même Evangéliste ajoute que rien de ce qui a été fait, n'a été fait sans la Parole. Tout esprit réfléchi se demande ce que signifie cette dénomination, employée pour désigner la seconde Personne de la Trinité. Pour pouvoir s'en rendre compte, il faut recourir au dogme de la similitude entre Dieu et sa créature. L'homme est ternaire selon l'archetype de celui qui est. *La pensée, la parole, et l'action humaine* représentent perpétuellement en lui les trois personnes de la substance divine. *La pensée* est le Père invisible, générateur de tous les êtres, principe de vie et d'action, inaccessible et vivificateur. *La parole humaine* c'est le Fils, elle est coexistante à la pensée, sans cesse engendrée par elle, essentiellement créatrice, seule palpable et accessible, seul point de contact et de rapport entre l'ordre physique et l'ordre intellectuel. *L'action* dérive souvent de la parole, mais elle ne procède essentiellement que de la pensée, qui en est l'unique moteur nécessaire, et le principe éternel. En effet la parole inarticulée elle-même, n'est point un médiateur absolu et nécessaire, entre la volonté que j'ai le pouvoir



l'un de mes membres et l'action qui suit cette volonté. De même *l'Esprit Saint, l'action, l'accomplissement*, émane et procède substantiellement de la pensée, du sensorium, quoique le plus souvent elle soit précédée ou provoquée par la parole. C'est l'Esprit Saint, qui accomplit et réalise toutes choses. *Le Père, la pensée*, ne se manifeste et ne se matérialise que par *le Fils*, que par *la parole*, il n'agit que par *l'Esprit*, qui est *l'action*." (Stourdza, pp. 33—36.)

This philosophical theory of the Trinity, is utterly useless: as the speculations of a philosopher, some of the thoughts are ingenious, but in an official developement of the doctrines held by the Russian church, they are entirely misplaced. The doctrines of the Bible are infinitely above philosophy, and are only disfigured by the most beautiful combinations which the ingenuity of man can suggest. M. Stourdza proceeds to discuss this doctrine at great length, but without throwing any new light upon it; and insists too much on the authority and implicit obedience which is due to the seven general councils.\* We therefore turn with pleasure to the summary of Platon, for a perspicuous view of the actual tenets of the Russian church.

"The most holy faith of the gospel first teaches us, that God is one in essence, but in three persons: the Father, uncreated; the Son, inexplicably, and from eternity, begotten of the Father; and the Holy Ghost from the same Father, incomprehensibly proceeding, served, revered, and glorified in one indivisible worship.

"The holy faith reveals to us the most exalted mystery of the Holy Trinity, that is, that God is one in essence in three persons, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: yet not three Gods but one God, because one in essence. The Father is Lord, the Son is Lord, the Holy Ghost is Lord: yet not three Lords, but one Lord. The Father is Almighty, the Son is Almighty, and the Holy Ghost is Almighty: yet not three Almighties, but one Almighty God. I believe in God the Father, I believe in God the Son, I believe in God the Holy Ghost: yet not three faiths, but one faith. I worship God the Father, I worship God the Son, I worship God the Holy Ghost: yet not three worships, but one worship, one reverence, one adoration, one glorifying of the Holy Trinity.

"The Father is neither created nor begotten; the Son is not created, but begotten of the Father; the Holy Ghost is neither created nor begotten, but proceeding from the Father. The begetting of the Son of God is from all eternity; the proceeding of the Holy Ghost is also from all eternity." (Platon's Orthodox Doctrine, pp. 109—111.)

\* The Seven General Councils received by the Greek church are those, 1. Of Nice (the first), A. D. 325. 2. Of Constantinople (the first), A. D. 381. 3. Of Ephesus, A. D. 431. 4. Of Chalcedon, A. D. 451. 5. Of Constantinople (the second), A. D. 483. 6. Of Constantinople in Trullo (the third), A. D. 680; and 7. Of Nice (the second), A. D. 787.

From the preceding passage it will be perceived that the Russian Church holds that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only, and not from the Father and the Son, as the Latin and most Protestant Churches profess to believe. But this view of that fundamental article of the Christian faith does not prevent the venerable author from entertaining and announcing correct and important sentiments relative to the influence of the Holy Spirit on the mind of man, which are in perfect unison with the recorded opinions of the wisest and best men who have ever adorned the British Church.

"The Lord Jesus Christ, after his ascension, sent to the apostles, and to all believers, the Holy Ghost, by whose blessed influence man is saved. \* \* \*

"The operations of the Holy Spirit, by which the salvation of men is perfected, are various. The man who is wandering in error, and hardened in sin, or rather dead in sins, he calleth to the faith by the word, granting him different opportunities to turn from his evil ways. By his internal operations, he softens the heart, kindles in the mind the light of the knowledge of God, regenerates and cleanseth from sin in baptism, renews in repentance, and unites unto Christ mysteriously in the communion; and spiritually, through stedfast continuance in the faith, he directs to every work of godliness; comforts and supports in temptations and trials; and internally assures us of that great love wherewith our heavenly Father encompasseth us.

"According to the apostle Paul, the following graces are the signs and fruits of the Holy Spirit dwelling in man. 'The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance:' Gal. v. 22. (Platon's Orthodox Doctrine, pp. 156—158.)

The invocation of saints, which is a doctrine alike received in the Greek and Roman Communions, is generally allowed to have arisen from the doctrine of the Trinity as established by the councils of the Greek Church. Men seem to have a difficulty to conceive that Jesus Christ is "the mighty God, the everlasting Father," and "over all, God blessed for ever," and at the same time the mediator between the Almighty Being and mankind; and hence they have fallen into the notion of other intercessors and mediators. In this view they pay a secondary adoration to the Virgin Mary, to the twelve apostles, and to a vast number of saints with which the Greek calendar abounds; but they deny that they adore them as believing them to be gods.

"We do not transgress," says Platon, "against this [the second] commandment, when we invoke departed saints; for this invocation, as understood by our holy church, is very different from the invocation of God. We call on the name of God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, as the Supreme Lord and Almighty Upholder of all things, and we address the saints as his servants, but who with him inhabit a blessed eternity. The

invocation of God consists in the most humble subjection of spirit to the divine Majesty, and in founding all our hopes upon him; but the invocation of saints consists in uniting our prayers with theirs. In support of this, it is sufficient to observe, that the saints, while still upon the earth, prayed for others, and required others to pray for them, as we clearly see from Rom. xv. 30, 'Now I beseech you, brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me.' See also 2 Cor. i. 11. Phil. i. 4. Acts xii. 5. And now that they are drawn near, or rather united unto God, and continually behold his face in glory, it is impossible that they should not have the most sincere desire for the salvation of all believers; and if so, what inconsistency is there in joining our prayers and desires to those which such saints as Paul, for instance, present or feel? In this the invocation of the saints consists. But this invocation does not lay aside the all-powerful mediation of Jesus Christ; for his mediation is the continual, and absolutely necessary foundation, both of our prayers, and of the intercession of the saints. However, we ought not foolishly to imagine that this respect given by us to the saints, will be of any advantage to us, if we live in sin and impenitence; for there can be no honour shown to the saints equal to that of imitating their lives, and trusting in God alone according to their example.

"Those, therefore, are inexcusable, and grievously transgress against this commandment, who render unto the favourites of God, divine, or nearly divine honours, and who trust in them almost as much as in God himself; who offer up prayers to them more frequently than to Him, who respect their memory, and keep their holidays with a greater degree of devotion than the holidays of the Lord, and reverence their pictures more than those of our Saviour himself. For the favourite saints of God are of themselves by no means so great; they are the servants of God, and the work of his hands; consequently, between them and God there is an infinite difference. It is necessary, therefore, for every one to be very watchful, that he be not infected with such errors." (Platon, pp. 221—223.)

The Greek church admits the use of pictures, to instruct the ignorant, and to assist the devotions of others by those sensible representations: and in allowing this practice, the members of that communion do not think themselves guilty of any breach of the second commandment, as it respects the *manner* of worship. The reasoning of the venerable metropolitan our readers, we apprehend, will think more ingenious than solid.

"We do not act contrary," he says, "to this [the second] commandment, when, according to the ancient custom of Christians, we adorn our temples with the holy pictures. For, in the *first* place, we do not attempt to draw upon the canvas a representation of the unseen and incomprehensible God, whom we never can represent; but we represent our Saviour in the fashion of a man which he took upon himself, or his favourites. *Secondly*, The pictures are made and placed in

our churches, not for deification, but to commemorate the acts of God and of his chosen servants, that we, in beholding them, (as for instance, in looking on the picture of our crucified Saviour,) may stir up our souls to piety, and to the imitation of them in many acts of their lives. *Thirdly*, The obeisance which we make before the pictures, we do not render to the pictures themselves, that is, to the boards, colours, ornaments, or skill of the artist, but we render this to the persons whom they represent, and to the pictures only an affectionate salutation. Thus, for example, I bow before the picture of my Saviour, but the devotion of my spirit, my faith, supplications, and hope, and the very obeisance which I pay, are all rendered to my Saviour alone, who is in heaven, and every where present, and the picture is only a kind of sensible incitement of my devotion. Moreover, it is necessary to be known, that the obeisance performed before the picture of our Saviour, and that before the picture of any of the saints, though to appearance the same, yet in reality are very different indeed. For the worship which I perform before the picture of the Saviour, consists in the deepest humility of soul before him as Lord and Creator of all; but that which I perform before the pictures of the saints is a reverence which I render to them out of a loving heart as his favourites, and as of the same nature, and of the same church, and members of the same body with myself." (Ibid, pp. 228, 229.)

But notwithstanding all that may be said on this subject, he admits that this reverencing of holy pictures may be turned into the most abominable idolatry, by persons attaching *all* their respect to them, hoping in them, and trusting in their material substance. Those persons, he adds, are chargeable with the guilt of idolatry, who bring their own particular picture into the church along with them, and worship only before it, or who respect those pictures more which are adorned than such as are unadorned, the old more than the new, or who decline praying at all, when they have not a picture before them. Persons who thus act are great transgressors, and prove a great disgrace to the real profession of the Christian faith. To avoid the above-mentioned errors, the venerable author urges the necessity of remembering—first, "That the worship of God can never be sincere, unless it proceed from a contrite and unfeigned spirit;" and secondly, "That we must hold to the divine word alone, and rest assured that it only contains the true rules by which we ought to please God."

In this defence of the invocation of departed saints, the attentive reader will not fail to observe that Platon feels himself at the greatest loss to preserve even a shadow of consistency with the great truths of revelation which he has explained in the course of his volume. Being, doubtless, convinced of the mere impossibility that illiterate peasants should mark the nice distinction which he himself has drawn between the homage paid to the Saviour and that given to the saints; and having had numberless occasions of

observing the idolatrous ideas which thousands of them actually entertain concerning the pictures and powers of departed saints, he at last produces the grand antidote against error in religious opinions and practices, viz. adherence to the Scriptures, as containing the only true rules by which we ought to please God.

2. M. Stourdza next comes to the doctrine of redemption, and shows how the fall of man rendered a Saviour necessary; in which he satisfactorily exposes the doctrine of indulgences, as maintained by the church of Rome. As, however, this part of his work is expressed with too much conciseness, we think our readers will be gratified with the luminous and correct statements of the venerable metropolitan, on the present state of man, on the sacrifice of Christ as an atonement for sin, and the only way of salvation; and on the necessity of divine influence.

On the first of these topics he observes :

"We have shown that a change must have taken place among the children of men; but the fountain out of which all this evil flowed, we knew not. Now we behold the beginning of this evil: for the Holy Scriptures, in making known the happy state in which the first man was created, are also not silent in regard to the manner in which he fell from this happiness; and this fall has brought death upon all men. The word of God clearly and powerfully confirms this. 'By one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned;' Rom. v. 12. The Heathens themselves, notwithstanding their great darkness, are unable to deny the general corruption of the human race; but Christians alone enjoy the peculiar privilege of pointing to the very spring from which this flood of wickedness flows."—"Surely it is unnecessary, in this place, to prove how wretched and sorrowful man is in such a condition, because, to have the light of reason darkened, to be removed from virtue, consequently from God, from the most exalted good, is a state of misery, than which the mind of man cannot conceive a greater." (Platon, pp. 124. 126.)

After proving the inefficacy of repentance and good works, notwithstanding the infinite goodness of the Almighty, he has the following observations :

"Let no man, however, suppose, that because God is infinitely merciful, or rather mercy itself, he can, without regarding men's imperfections and their falling into sin, out of his mere goodness, pardon men, and render them fit to be partakers of his blessedness and glory. Such reasoning is base and sinful; it makes the mercy of God blind; it presupposes a God not possessed of eternal and inviolable rectitude. It obliges him to regard the righteous and the wicked alike, a supposition which it is dreadful to apply to the living God.

May any one ask, by what way then can man be saved? By that way, which infinite wisdom has devised, and in which the glory of our God is united with a full satisfaction of his justice, in the

work of our salvation. And what this way is, the word of God has particularly revealed to us."

"The death of Christ is the true and only sacrifice (for sin):"—"for all the other sacrifices were nothing, but a kind of types or images of this; and it alone was capable of satisfying divine justice, meriting for us God's mercy, cleansing us from our sins, and of restoring us to our original state of blessedness. The word of God bears testimony to this; 'But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?' Heb. ix. 11—14."—"All the blessedness we can ever expect from the divine goodness, is procured by the death of Christ; for, 'He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him also freely give us all things?' Rom. viii. 32."—"And there is no one so great a sinner whom his grace alone is not able to save. But in order that this grace may become effectual in us, faith is requisite, that is, we must heartily receive Jesus Christ as our Saviour, and without doubting, rest assured, that only through him we can be made partakers of the mercy of God. Without the infinite merits of Christ all our attempts are in vain, and man can never be saved. This is clearly taught every where in the word of God, John iii. 15; 'For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life;' and verse 18, 'He that believeth on him is not condemned, but he that believeth not is condemned already.' When we consider faith as essential to salvation, it is to be understood, that we mean faith unfeigned, sincere, and living, that is, '*faith which worketh by love.*' Gal. v. 6."

"This faith is called *justifying faith*, because through it man is accounted just before God; yea, is accounted as such, according to the doctrine of Paul, *without the works of the law*: Rom. xi. 6. For how is it possible for man to have any part in his own justification, when it is impossible to be justified in any other way, than by first confessing our guilt before God, and that we have merited his wrath? However, those who are justified by faith must prove the same, and give evidence of their justification, by obeying the holy law of God. For, according to Paul's doctrine also, '*faith worketh by love*;' Gal. v. 6. And such faith is styled a *living faith*; because it is unfeigned, and preserves alive the spark of continual progress in virtue. But such as will not confess their poverty before God, and do not place their whole hope of salvation upon their Saviour alone, or lead lives unbecoming the character of Christians, are said to possess a *dead, feigned, and vain faith*." (Platon, pp. 123. 145—148. 108.)

We have allowed this respectable writer to speak thus for him-

self, on account of the perfect harmony of his exposition with the doctrines of the Anglican church, as expressed in her thirty-nine articles and book of homilies.

Though the Greek Church allows prayers and services for the dead as an ancient and pious custom, and even prays for the remission of their sins, yet she does by no means hold the doctrine of purgatory, or determine any thing dogmatically concerning the state and condition of departed souls. The notion of purgatory is confuted with considerable vehemence by M. Stourdza, in his chapter on rewards and punishments; but his arguments are not characterised by any peculiar novelty. The service for the dead in the Russian Church appears to be little more than a commemoration of deceased friends, established out of respect to the dead, and also to impress the minds of the living with a sense of their mortality.

In the Greek Church there are seven mysteries, (or sacraments as the Latin Church terms them,) viz. Baptism, the Chrism, the Eucharist, Confession or Repentance, Ordination, Marriage and the Sanctified Oil. Of these, Baptism and the Eucharist are the chief: of the rest, according to Platon, the Chrism and Repentance belong to every Christian: but Ordination, Marriage, and the Sanctified Oil, are not obligatory upon all.

The Sacrament of Baptism is performed either in the church or in a private house: and the prayers, exorcisms, and ceremonies attending its administration, are long and complicated.\* The Greeks and Russians always use a *trine* or three-fold immersion; the first in the name of the Father; the second in the name of the Son; and the third in that of the Holy Spirit. For this usage, M. Stourdza is a strenuous advocate in opposition to baptism by sprinkling, as adopted by the Western Church; but his account of the sacrament itself is by no means so perspicuous as that of Platon, which is far more correct than the views entertained on that subject by some late writers in this country, and in substance corresponds with the view presented in a former volume of this journal.† So indispensable is baptism esteemed, that in cases of extremity, where a priest cannot be obtained, lay-baptism is permitted; but is never repeated on any account.

The chrism, or baptismal unction, is administered immediately after baptism, and holds the place of confirmation in the Romish

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\* The reader will find a copious and interesting description of the liturgical services and ceremonies, incident to these various ordinances, in Dr. King's *Rites of the Greek Church*.

† See *British Review*, vol. vii. p. 513—561.

and Protestant Churches. This superstitious ceremony (for such in justice we must term it) is always used at the reception of a proselyte from any other church : it is performed by the priest anointing the baptized person with holy ointment, with which he makes the sign of the cross on his forehead, eyes, nostrils, mouth, ears, breast, hands, and feet, repeating these words at each sign—'The seal of the gift of the Holy Ghost.' This ointment, we are informed by Dr. Pinkerton, is composed of upwards of twenty different ingredients, and is prepared and consecrated with great ceremony, once a year, at Moscow, by a Bishop, on the Thursday in passion week.

Both Platon and Stourdza condemn the Church of Rome for depriving the laity of the cup, in administering the Eucharist : but the doctrine of transubstantiation is held by both churches, having in all probability been introduced into Russia by the Roman Catholic priests of the middle ages. Our readers will, perhaps, be amused, though we are sure they will not be convinced, by the philosophical analogies, produced by M. Stourdza in defence of the "orthodox church" for retaining this most absurd tenet.

"Ce sacrement par lequel l'œuvre mystérieuse de la rédemption s'accomplit et se matérialise tous les jours, est désigné sous le nom d'Eucharistie, ou *action de grâce*, parcequ'il est effectivement l'*action mutuelle de la grâce divine et de la gratitude de l'homme* mises en harmonie. Il représente le seul tribut que la créature puisse offrir à son créateur pour le plus grand de tous les bienfaits et le plus sublime de tous les miracles. L'importance et la réalité de l'Eucharistie se fonde, comme celle du baptême, sur des consonnances admirables entre les deux mondes, et sur les emblèmes les plus consolans. *La nutrition du corps nous retrace symboliquement celle de l'ame.* Toutes deux s'opèrent par les mêmes loix, je veux dire celles de la *transubstantiation des espèces*, moyennant la sanguification et la sécrétion des élémens nutritifs. Le pain et le vin, sont le symbole des fluides et des solides qui communiquent à la structure humaine *la forme et le mouvement.* L'une est le résultat de l'ossification et de la formation des chairs. L'autre s'effectue et se conserve par la circulation du sang. Or nous avons fait observer plus haut, que *la forme et le mouvement* représentaient dans l'ordre physique, *l'intelligence et la volonté* au moral. Il suit de là que la nutrition mentale produite par l'Eucharistie, alimente le vrai principe de l'intelligence et donne une impulsion salutaire à la volonté. Le choix des deux espèces du pain et du vin, qui caractérisent le corps et le sang du Sauveur, n'est donc pas indifférent et arbitraire sous le point de vue métaphysique. Le Médiateur éternel se donne tout entier à l'homme, pour agir sur la totalité de son être, et en nous annonçant sa présence dans l'Eucharistie il nous révèle une vérité sublime : c'est que *l'ame humaine ne peut avoir d'autre nourriture solide et vivifiante que son Dieu ; et que ce n'est qu'en s'alliant sans cesse à*



*son principe, qu'elle parvient à renouveler les forces de son intelligence et de sa volonté. Ceci est mon corps, selon l'auguste manifestation de l'Evangile, veut donc dire en d'autres termes, ceci est mon esprit, ma puissance, ma sagesse infinie, rendus palpables à l'être dégradé: ceci est mon sang, veut dire, ceci est ma volonté, mon amour, principe du mouvement universel, qui seul peut régénérer la volonté de l'homme. Après avoir ainsi constaté la profondeur et la solidité du principe abstrait, ainsi que le sens symbolique du sacrement de l'Eucharistie, comment peut-on hésiter un moment à admettre le dogme de la présence réelle sous les espèces transformées du pain et du vin? Quelle pourrait être cette singulière répugnance à adhérer, pour tout homme pénétré du sentiment de la toute présence de Dieu; en qui, selon l'expression de St. Paul, nous vivons, nous nous mouvons, et nous existons." (Stourdza, p. 89—91.)*

The Greek Church allows the eucharist to be administered to infants at the breast, from the desire of sanctifying them from the womb; but the Western and Reformed Churches allow it only to persons of riper years. In the former of these practices, there is a greater exercise of faith; but the latter is unquestionably more scriptural as well as most rational.

Confession or repentance is stated to be "a mystery, in which the believer, on the sincere confession of his sins, and in a firm reliance on the merits of Christ, receives remission of his sins from God, through the servant of Christ." It is always necessary previously to receiving the communion. The Russian Church, indeed, prescribes it to all her members four times in the year; and in the monasteries this injunction is obeyed. But the laity, for the most part, confess only once in the year, (to which the law compels them,) and they usually make their confession during the great fast before Easter. Formerly, it was customary for the priest to make very particular inquiries of the person who came to confess, urging the necessity of uncovering the wounds in order to have them healed: but this custom is now usually laid aside: for the priest only recites the ten commandments, and interrogates the penitent, which of them he has violated. The confessor has a discretionary power to enlarge, or lessen, the duration and degree of punishment, or to exchange one penance for another. He is, however, prohibited from imposing any penalties that are impracticable; but must regulate them according to the situation of the penitents and their ability to perform them. The common people usually confess in the church, one by one, apart with their spiritual father: but persons of distinction make their confessions to the priests in their own houses. After confession, the priest prays that "Jesus Christ, our Lord God, through his grace, bounty, and love to mankind," may forgive the person all his sins, from which (by

virtue of the power committed to him) he then absolves him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Ordination "is a mystery, in which the Holy Spirit, by the laying on of the hands of his servants, consecrates the worthy person chosen, to dispense the ordinances and feed the flock of Christ." This rite is performed through the invocation of the Holy Spirit, and the imposition of hands in the midst of the assembled church, who confirm the choice made, by exclaiming "He is worthy."

Though the Greek Church regards matrimony as a mystery, (*tain*.) Platon defines it to be simply a holy rite, (*obriad*.) in which the servant of the church unites two marriageable persons, and implores the divine blessing upon them. For this more rational view of the subject, the venerable metropolitan did not escape the censures of his brethren.

The ceremony of marriage is always performed in the church, and it consists of three parts or offices, which were formerly celebrated at different times after certain intervals, though at present they constitute only one service. These offices are, 1. The *betrothing*, in which the parties exchange rings or other presents, as pledges of their mutual fidelity and attachment; 2. The *matrimonial coronation*, which is properly the rite of marriage. In this, the priest, having pointed out the duties of the matrimonial connexion, and interrogated the parties relative to their mutual consent, crowns them, with prayer: 3. The *dissolving of the crowns*; which ceremony is performed on the eighth day, the priest concluding with the following prayer: "We thy servants, O Lord, having ratified the contract, and performed the ceremony of marriage, as in Cana of Galilee, and laid up the symbols of it, give glory to thee, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever, even unto ages of ages."—The crowns, anciently used on these occasions, were garlands of flowers: but at present every church has two crowns, made either of gold or silver. No marriages are solemnised during Lent; and a fourth marriage is altogether unlawful in the Greek Church.

The last mystery of the Orthodox Church is that of the *Euchlaion*, that is, the *sanctified* or *holy oil*, the administration of which is not confined to persons at the point of death, or dangerously ill, like the extreme unction of the Church of Rome; but, if devout persons require it, on the slightest malady, they are anointed with oil by the servant of the church, who prayeth to God for his recovery from sickness, and for the forgiveness of his sins. This ordinance is founded upon the advice of the apostle James, (v. 14, 15,) but is not deemed obligatory on all

persons, or necessary to salvation. According to the ritual of this mystery, *seven* priests are required to celebrate it; but it is now administered by a less number, it being difficult in the country to collect the number stated in the regulations. Each of the officiating priests, in his turn, with a twig, upon the end of which there is a little cotton, anoints the sick person with oil, on the chief parts of the body.

Exclusive of the above mentioned mysteries, the Russian Church retains certain traditions or ceremonies; which, it is asserted, have descended from the apostolic age, or were instituted by the immediate successors of the apostles, and which "have been observed by all holy antiquity." Although it is conceded that salvation does not consist in these ceremonies, yet it is alleged that they are of serious importance. M. Stourdza, who can see nothing but absolute perfection in the dogmas and worship of his church, thus eulogizes her external rites:

"La nécessité du culte extérieur se fonde sur la nature mixte de l'homme, sur la réalité des rapports existans entre le monde visible et l'ordre de choses supérieur; enfin sur l'imitation de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ. Aussi les premiers chrétiens se réunissaient-ils régulièrement pour chanter les louanges de Dieu, méditer les Ecritures, offrir le sacrifice de l'Eucharistie et célébrer la mémoire des martyrs de la vérité. Les accroissemens du Christianisme qui, sorti des catacombes, vint s'asseoir sur les trônes de l'univers, durent nécessairement ajouter à la pompe et à la splendeur des solennités religieuses, mais le fonds demeura toujours le même. Les fidèles continuèrent à se rassembler dans les temples et les basiliques, pour y jouir des promesses du Sauveur, qui déclare sa présence, là où deux ou plusieurs adorateurs sont réunis en son nom. On eut toute fois lieu de s'écrier avec le Roi-Phète: *Combien j'ai aimé la magnificence de ta demeure.*

"Mais le culte extérieur transmis à l'Eglise orthodoxe, par les premiers siècles du Christianisme, n'en conserva pas moins son *unité*, son *uniformité* et sa *majesté*. La forme des temples, les autels, les vases sacrés, les chants, les habits pontificaux, les rites des sacremens et des funérailles, les offices de la quadragésime, les pompes nocturnes de la nativité et de la résurrection, le sens emblématique du voile qui couvre le sanctuaire; des encensoirs et des mystiques flambeaux: tout y porte l'empreinte de l'antiquité la plus reculée et la plus invariable.

"La Liturgie ordinaire, transporte tous les jours le fidèle à une distance de plus de treize siècles. Le berceau de la religion s'y montre tout entier, avec tous les dons de l'esprit du Dieu si propice à l'enfance, et toutes les saintes coutumes initiatrices du Christianisme primitif. On y reconnaît les accents des humbles catéchumènes, l'amour et l'allégresse des initiés: la clôture des portes qui précède l'énoncé du symbole, le recueillement qui annonce l'acte de la consécration. Le voile se baisse, les chants se taisent, l'offrande est accomplie. Le prêtre se prosterne, sa chevelure antique touche le pavé du temple, et aussi les voix d'allégresse se font entendre, et les sublimes accents du

Roi-Prophète, rétentissent comme jadis devant l'arche, pour célébrer l'Homme-Dieu.

“Toute cette divine Liturgie n'est que la mélodie de l'amour, de la foi et de l'espérance, qui ressuscitent les échos lointains du passé.” (Stourdza, p. 103—105.)

The Liturgy of the Greek Church is, unquestionably, of great antiquity; but candour requires us to add that it is most tediously prolix: and we turn from it with grateful pleasure to the simple but sublime and devotional formulary for public worship of our national church: ‘which,’ it has been truly said, ‘is so judiciously contrived, that the wisest may exercise at once their knowledge and devotion; and yet so plain, that the most ignorant may pray with understanding; so full that nothing is omitted which is fit to be asked in public; and so particular that it comprizeth most things, which we would ask in private; and yet so short as not to tire any that hath true devotion. Its doctrine is pure and primitive; its ceremonies [are] so few and innocent that most of the Christian world agree in them: its method is exact and natural; its language is significant and perspicuous; most of the words and phrases being taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and the rest are the expressions of the first and purest ages; so that whoever takes exception at these, must quarrel with the language of the Holy Ghost, and fall out with the church in her greatest innocence: and, in the opinion of the most impartial and excellent Grotius, (who was no member of, nor had any obligation to, our church,) the English Liturgy comes so near to the primitive pattern, that none of the reformed churches can compare with it.’

But, to return to the Greek Church:—the Russian clergy are divided into regular and secular, or monks and parochial clergy. The latter are supplied from the *spiritual schools*, which are intended chiefly to train up young men for the priestly office. The superior clergy are divided into metropolitans, archbishops, and bishops, who are indiscriminately styled *Archirès* (Αρχιερεῖς): but the title of Metropolitan or Bishop is merely personal, and not properly attached to the see. It rarely happens that one Archirè is subordinate to another. Promotion to the episcopal rank depends entirely on the will of the sovereign. When a vacancy takes place in a diocese, the holy legislative synod established at Moscow, (to which the entire government and spiritual concerns of the church are confided,) presents two or three candidates to the Emperor, from the *Archimandrites*, or chiefs of monasteries, out of whom he selects one, whom he orders to be consecrated an Archirè, though he is not restricted in his choice to any one of the candidates thus recommended.

Next in dignity to the Archirès, are the Black Clergy, or

monks, to which class belong the Archimandrites, from whom all bishops are chosen, and under them are various monastic officers. All the Black Clergy, as well as the Archirès, are obliged to lead rigid and secluded lives; they are prohibited from eating animal food, and are not permitted to marry after entering into this order. They compose the regular clergy; and all the powers and dignities of the Russian Church are exclusively vested in them.

The White Clergy, or secular priests, consist of *protoirès* (Πρωτοίερείς), priests, deacons, readers, and sacristans. The *protoirès*, priests, and deacons, must all have been educated in the spiritual schools; and they must also have been married before they can be ordained to these offices. They are, however, restricted from marrying widows, and can only marry once. On the death of their wives, they are at liberty to enter into the order of the Black Clergy, by becoming monks; and thus the way is open before them, to the first dignities of the Russian Church. But, if any of them are desirous of marrying a second time, they must previously resign their office in the priesthood, from which they are for ever excluded. The duties of the secular clergy are peculiarly laborious. The service of the church, which is of excessive length, must be performed three times a-day: and the ceremonies of baptism, marriage, visiting the sick, &c. &c. are both numerous and complicated; consequently they have but little leisure for study, and few publications, either of a moral or religious kind, come from their pens. As however the state of literature among the secular priests has undergone a material change for the better, during the last century, Dr. Pinkerton speaks of many of them as men not only of exemplary piety and fidelity in the discharge of their pastoral duties, but also of distinguished learning. In most of the churches, as well in towns as in villages, a sermon is preached every Sunday, and on the principal holidays: and some of the discourses, which he has heard in different parts of the empire, for sound reasoning and clear views of the leading doctrines of the gospel, might have done honour to a British clergyman. The superior clergy he asserts, in the language of Dr. King (who wrote fifty years since), "are men, whose candour, modesty, and truly primitive simplicity of manners, would have illustrated the first ages of Christianity." Their theological writings, especially of late years, are represented as honourable to their profession and country: but, unfortunately for their literary reputation, they write in a language which is unknown to the other nations of Europe. The "*Orthodox Doctrine*" of Platon, and the "*Four Russian Discourses*," of Michael Desnitzski, the present metropolitan of

Novogorod and St. Petersburg, are the only productions of the Russian clergy, which have been naturalized in our language.

The Treatise of the late venerable metropolitan of Moscow was first published in the Slavonian language, in the year 1765, since which period it has gone through numerous large editions,\* and has been introduced into almost every place of education in the Russian Empire. The learning, devotional feeling, and sound Scriptural knowledge which this treatise evinces (as our extracts will show), are such as would do credit to the clergy of any church. That he accommodates himself in some respects to the superstitious notions which have hitherto obtained among the more illiterate Russians, our readers will doubtless have observed: but we think that, in proportion as his book is circulated among them, his frequent endeavours to correct their erroneous ideas will be crowned with success, especially as the diffusion of the Scriptures in the different dialects spoken by the various tribes and nations that inhabit the vast dominions of the Emperor Alexander, is daily increasing through the instrumentality of the numerous Bible Societies, which are now actively occupied in printing the sacred volume. .

The discourses translated from the Russian of the most Rev. Michael Desnitzski, present metropolitan of Novogorod and St. Petersburg, are characterised by simplicity and clearness in announcing the great truths of the gospel. The venerable author is said to be a man of profound learning; who has raised himself, by his talents and eloquence, from the office of a common priest, to one of the first dignities of the Russian Church. The anonymous editor, or translator, informs us that the sermons, which we are now introducing to the notice of our readers, were written and preached, when he was a parish priest at Moscow, and that they have been taken with his consent, from some manuscript volumes in his own hand-writing, dated in the years 1787 and 1788, and hitherto unpublished in the Russian language. The subjects of these discourses are, *one Lord, one faith, one baptism* (Eph. iv. 5); *the difference between the baptism of John and of Christ,—the baptism of water and of the Spirit* (John i. 31—33); *since salvation is by faith, what place is to be assigned to good works?* (Eph. ii. 8, 9.) and *the persons for whom Christ prays.* (John xvii. 9.) As the volume now under consideration is neither large nor costly, we shall make only one or two extracts, chiefly for the purpose of showing

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\* His translator, Dr. Pinkerton, has enriched his work with many valuable notes, an appendix relative to the Seceders from the Russian Church (containing much curious matter), for which we must refer to his volume, and an historical memoir on the Russian Clergy, whence we have derived several interesting particulars.

the unity of sentiment between this author and the venerable Platon, on some important topics which have been agitated in this country. Our first passage shall be taken from the second discourse on baptism. •

“ As Jesus Christ, when he was baptized in the river Jordan by his forerunner John, received from on high the manifestations of his divinity—received a testimony of it by the descent of the Holy Spirit, like a dove, and by the voice of his heavenly Father, that he was his Son, begotten by him from Eternity, in whom he is ever well pleased—that he is the true God; so every one baptized in faith in the name of the life-giving Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, receives a spiritual anointing through the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the sealing by his gifts; the seal or testimony that Christ is more than a servant; that he is a son, and if a son, then an heir of God; that he is already of the kingdom of holiness, of the ‘ holy nation,’ of the peculiar people; the baptism of the Holy Spirit, and not of water, effects all this. Water, which washes the body from defilement, is used in baptism, not as the thing which by itself purifies the inner man, but merely as the thing which represents the invisible Spirit of God, which can perfectly wash, cleanse, purify, and sanctify: but from this difference, between the outward and inward baptism—between the baptism of John and of Christ, with water and with the Spirit, we must not be satisfied with the mere outward action—the external administration of the ceremony; we must not reckon it sufficient to wash the man with water, which does not cleanse the inner man, but only represents that there is power and strength communicated to the man by the saving operation.

“ The outward baptism with water is still without power, and without efficacy to procure the pardon of sin and true reconciliation, and even at present does not procure pardon, if it be only outwardly administered, without entire conversion by the invisible Spirit of God, who cleanses, vivifies, and sanctifies. Even now that Christ is come, as well as in the time of John. such baptisms will only be watery and not spiritual. As in the time of the apostles, after the ascension of the Lord to heaven, there were disciples, who when they were examined by the apostles whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they believed, answered, ‘ We have not so much as heard whether there be any Holy Ghost:’ so even now, if of those that may be reckoned believers, of those that have been baptized, there may be persons who not only do not feel the actual indwelling of the Holy Spirit in themselves, but have not even the understanding and knowledge of him: as at that time there were in Samaria such as heard from the apostle Philip the glad tidings of the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus, and were baptized with water, yet nevertheless had not received the Spirit of God, were not honoured with the spiritual anointing, ‘ for as yet the Holy Ghost was fallen upon none of them,’ only as it is said in the Acts of the Apostles, they were baptized in the name of Jesus, and they received the Holy Ghost. ‘ When Peter and John came to him from Jerusa-

lem, being sent by the other apostles, they prayed for them to God, and laid hands on them, and they received the Holy Ghost.—So even now there may be persons who are baptized as Christians, with water only externally, who have not received the Holy Spirit; not profited by his saving operation: you ought therefore to be greatly afraid lest the mystery of baptism has been administered only as a common external ceremony, and that you have been washed only with water, and thus miss the blessed influences of the Holy Spirit.

“He who enters upon the Christian calling, and seeks through the ordinance of baptism to receive forgiveness of sins and a new life, must pray the Lord our God to send down upon the outward sign of baptism, upon the natural water, the supernatural power of the Holy Spirit, to sanctify the water, and by the cleansing power of his sanctification, purify from pollution both the body and the soul, and quicken them into immortal life.” (Dcsnitzki, p. 24—28.)

On the subject of faith and good works, this author has the following remarks.

“Faith in Christ is the foundation of our salvation. It is the beginning of life, and good works must spring from it, to manifest this life. They must serve as marks that the inner man lives by faith; wherefore the apostle James saith, ‘Shew thy faith by thy works,’ (ch. ii. 18.) as if he had said, ‘Since ye believe in Christ—since ye consider yourselves redeemed by him, and think that ye have been made alive in your inner man by faith, then shew your faith by being made alive through it to good works.’ It is the property of life to act; as the natural man does not conceive himself, quicken himself, produce himself, but deriving his being from God through his parents, is born and receives strength to move and act, and being alive *must act*: so, in like manner, the spiritual, the inner man cannot save himself; cannot regenerate himself, or give himself spiritual and eternal life, but receives it from above, even from the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, through faith [as his mother]. Having spiritual fellowship with Christ by faith; being by him regenerated and restored to life, he must of necessity act and perform good and spiritual works; and that in order to shew and testify that he lives by faith, and is regenerated by it. As, under the Old Testament dispensation, the circumcision of the foreskin of the flesh was only a sign of the righteousness of faith in the Messiah, but such a sign as it was indispensably necessary to observe, although the individual himself might be an unrighteous man; so now, under the New Testament, good works, although they do not justify us, must be performed, that they may serve as signs of the righteousness of faith. Faith having justified and quickened us, must infallibly produce good works; not for justification, but to shew that it exists in man; hence it is said, that ‘faith without works,’ that is, destitute of the appropriate signs, ‘is dead:’ such faith cannot quicken the man.

“But in addition to this, true living faith appropriating to itself justification through Christ must produce good works, in testimony of our gratitude to the High and Lofty One for the blessings he has



showered upon us. As children love their parents according to the flesh, not in order that they may gain any thing from them, but rather to express their thankfulness for the love and care with which they have nourished them from their birth:—and further, in regard to their inheritance, they must be convinced, that as it was no defect in the love of their parents to give them life, neither can it argue a deficiency of love to bestow also the means of prolonging life; so in the spiritual birth, we must love God; yield ourselves to his holy will, and do works of righteousness—not to merit the Christian inheritance, the kingdom of God, but rather to express our gratitude to him for the grace which has redeemed us. We must be persuaded that the kingdom of God is not the wages of an hireling, but the gift of God: a generous, gratuitous grant flowing from the love of God, ‘of grace,’ for the sake of Christ. But our love, and other good works, are a debt, and not deserving of any recompense—‘We have done that which was our duty to do’ (Luke xvii. 10.) saith Christ. Do not think that you have performed much, and are worthy of a reward for your service; by no means, but when ye have done all, say, We are unprofitable and useless servants. ~

“Behold then, Christians! what faith is, and what our works are. See that our salvation is in Christ alone, depending upon his merit, and obtained on our part only by faith, which likewise is the gift of God. See too that faith must, without fail, bring along with it good works, and thus prove its existence: and as an appropriate test of our gratitude to God for our redemption, let us believe in our Lord Jesus Christ with a true and sincere heart; believe that he is our life and our salvation; believe that we are saved by his grace alone through faith; then we shall do good, love Him with all our soul, make all our desires bow to his will, and according to his commandment, love our neighbour as ourselves; yield ourselves servants to him in all obedience, to testify to him that we are his grateful children, mindful of his great goodness manifested in our creation, but more especially in redeeming us through the Saviour, our Lord Jesus Christ.” (Desnitzski, p. 37—41.)

The whole of the discourses on the characters for whom Christ prays (John xvii. 9.) is truly excellent: but we can find room only for one extract more. Having stated at length who are the persons intended, he thus sums up his argument, and shows for whom Christ does *not* pray, and consequently who are excluded from salvation.

“Jesus Christ prays and intercedes for every one, who, having heard the divine word proceeding from the Father, penetrates its meaning, and confesses it. To him the sacrifice of Christ is saying—reconciliation is obtained—redemption is effected. He believes that it is true, and proceeds from God; receives it into himself, observes it, fulfils it; confesses Jesus Christ to be the ambassador of God, the sent of God the Father; co-operates with his Holy Spirit; believes in the tri-hypostatical God; believes so that he leaves the world, renounces his

own will, and cleaves to Christ; reckons himself to be of him, and not of the world—to be of him alone, and not of the flesh—to be of him alone, and not of the devil. Christ sanctified himself, offered himself in sacrifice, died for every one who sacrifices himself to him, who serves him in body and spirit, sanctifies himself in soul and heart, who dies to the world, and abides in him. Jesus Christ gives life, eternal life to every one who, like the branches in the vine, abides in him, who finds in him the heavenly manna, is nourished by his spiritual food, and produces fruit, is regulated by his doctrine, and goes on towards perfection.

“For every one Christ prays, who with a true and sincere heart has recourse to him by faith, and asks in prayer. ‘Every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened.’ For all those who thus believe the Mediator between God and man, the God-man Jesus Christ prays—‘I pray for them,’ saith he, ‘and not for them only, but for all who shall believe on me through their word.’ ‘But I pray not for all the world’—but who are to be understood by the term *the world*, and who are excluded from the prayer of Christ? Under the name *the world*, not only are those to be understood who do not know Christ at all, and do not believe in him, as for instance heathens; not only those are meant who might by the works and miracles of Christ know him and believe in him; but who like the Jews, through obstinacy would not acknowledge him. Not only, I say, are such included under the denomination of the world, but also all those who, knowing the word of God from Jesus Christ, and having professed the faith, do not produce fruit from that divine seed, and increase it; but it is choked and defiled in them by the world, and they rest in the mere name of Christianity. All these are to be understood as the world, who are in strict alliance with the world, are firmly attached to it, whose hearts are chained down to earthly things, whose thoughts are earthly, sensual, devilish—not heavenly, spiritual, divine.

“Hence we may conclude that every one is excluded from the prayer of the Lord, and is condemned with the world, who is the friend of the world, and in fellowship with it, and is not one with Christ. Every one loses, with the unbelieving heathen, eternal life, and is destined to eternal death, who leads the life of a heathen, who indulges in luxuries and drunkenness, and lust and avarice; lives as if he had never known Christ, nor heard his holy doctrine. Every one falls short of salvation through the Saviour, has no participation in the sacrifice of his death, or his supper in the heavenly kingdom, who, with the obstinate Jews, if not in words yet in deed, puts Christ to death; in words like Judas, embraces him, but in deed abandons himself to the world, the flesh, and the devil; and for a little gain, a very small satisfaction, betrays him to those who crucify and murder him. Every one is excluded from reconciliation with the Father who is not at peace with himself and with his neighbour; in whom tumultuous passions and vices live, who endeavours not and intends not to overcome his lust and desires, and in whom dwell anger, envy, enmity, malevolence towards others like himself, and who cannot find peace from the

Being who is above him. Every one who flies from the holiness of Jesus is estranged from him, and seeks not repentance nor communion with Christ, nor strength from him for his direction, and thinks not of amendment. No one can come into fellowship with God who is here alienated from him, joined to the world and the flesh, and abides not in Christ his temple, his inner man, but defiles it by the lusts of the flesh, pride, the world, and the devil, and does not prepare it for a habitation of God, even to the end of his life. No one can hope in the mediation of Christ who does not pray that he may intercede for him; and if he asks, yet not as he ought to ask, but merely in words, and not with the heart. He honours him with the words of his mouth, but his heart is far from him. He prays, but only with external ceremony, not with inward humility of soul—he prays in outward form, not in inward power. And as the Lord sees the inner mind, hears the sighing of the heart, accepts the spiritual prayer—those who with their lips only call him, Lord! Lord! shall not be saved; according to his own declaration. He who asks not from the bottom of his heart, but with a wavering unsettled mind, and who is a christian only by profession, is excluded from the prayer and intercession of Christ. Behold then of whom it is that he says, ‘I pray not for all the world.’ He does not pray for those who do not seek his prayers, he excludes from a participation of his ‘sanctification’ those who do not endeavour to obtain sanctification. They fall short of life who willingly forsake *Life*, that is, himself; and go to the lost world, and love it—he removes them from redemption, who with their own wills remove from him. Summoned to the judgment of God, he calls and they do not hear his voice; he draws them, but they do not go; he knocks, and they do not open. It is just that such should be excluded from the flock—cast off from mediation—lose redemption. It is just that our Saviour should thus address his Father: ‘Righteous Father! I pray for these, I pray not for the world.’” (Desnitzski, pp. 48, 49. 51—54.)

The coincidence between the preceding paragraphs and the best divines of our national church, cannot fail to attract the attention of all who are conversant with the latter. The lovers of pure and unsophisticated religious truth, will be gratified to learn (on the authority of the translator), that the venerable metropolitan, Desnitzski “still continues to deliver his weekly instructions in the monastery of St. Alexander Nevski, and for the most part unwritten, after having performed the service. The simple illustration of divine truth, in the language understood by all, attracts a great multitude, not only of the common people, but likewise persons of the highest rank, who also reckon it a happiness to have these opportunities of profiting by the pious and touching addresses which fall from the lips of their beloved pastor.”

The Russian clergy are completely exempted from all civil taxes, and also from corporal punishments, even in the case of committing capital crimes. By an imperial decree issued in

1801, they are permitted to hold lands; but the greater part of their support is derived from the free-will offerings of their parishioners, and their revenues are comparatively small. The Russian empire is divided into thirty-six *eparchies* or dioceses; the extent of which is nearly the same as that of the provinces or governments. In these, there are 483 cathedrals and 26,598 churches, many of which are magnificent edifices. The service of the 'Orthodox Church' is comprised in more than twenty folio volumes, all in the Slavonic or ancient language of the country, which is not well understood by the greater part of the modern Russians. Twelve of these volumes, one for every month, contain the particular services and hymns for the festivals of the saints, who are so numerous in the Greek calendar, that their number far exceeds that of days in the year. The chief part of the service consists of psalms and hymns, which, instead of being sung, are now mostly read, and in a very rapid,—not to say unintelligible manner. The gospel, however, is always read slowly, and in a distinct and audible voice. Since the reigns of Peter the Great, and of Catherine II., both of whom introduced numerous salutary regulations and restrictions into the monasteries and nunneries of Russia, these are less peopled than formerly, though the monastic order (which adheres to the rule of St. Basil) cannot be altogether abolished without an essential change in the constitution of the church; for the higher ranks of the clergy can only be chosen from the monks. The nunneries, which continue to subsist, are properly asylums for aged or unfortunate females, who there spend the remainder of their days in retirement, most of them being usefully employed.

M. Stourdza devotes an entire chapter to the subject of toleration, on which he has many sensible and just observations. Toleration, he contends, is the great and distinguishing feature of the Russian church: and his assertions are corroborated by Dr. Pinkerton, who states that all ranks of Russians are in general free from that persecuting rancour against other religious persuasions, which has been so characteristic of the Roman Catholics. Though the Russians adhere strictly to the doctrines and ceremonies of their own church, yet not only the laity, but also the clergy are far from thinking that there is no salvation without her pale.

In concluding our account of M. Stourdza's volume, we cannot but take notice of the flights of oriental imagination, which are frequently to be found in it. These, perhaps, may be pardoned in a layman and a counsellor of state, from whom it would be absurd to look for that order and regularity which we naturally expect to see in the composition of a divine: but, while we recognize in his pages much truly Christian feeling, we also regret to

find him too often treating of Christianity as a system, a theory, a speculative doctrine, rather than as a vivifying principle, the life of the living, and the preparative of eternity. This writer ventures to predict high destinies for the national church of his country. 'She has,' he says, 'been persecuted: she has passed through fire and water; she has resisted the assaults of Islamism, and has converted the north. She has, indeed, been deprived of her splendid vestments; but nothing can wrest from her that depositum of faith and of tradition, which she has preserved, unadulterated and uninjured. Though the 'Orthodox Church' is now undergoing a Babylonish captivity, yet she shall rebuild the temple: and that stone which human builders have pretended to reject, shall become the corner-stone of the sacred edifice.'

The introduction of Bible Societies (now amounting to more than two hundred), and of schools of national instruction, into the vast dominions of Russia, together with the wise and liberal measures which are now in progress for promoting the moral and civil improvement of its immense population,—lead us to hope, that M. Stourdza's expectations may be realized. Sincerely do we wish that Russia may unite all her efforts with those of the Protestant churches in carrying Christianity, with its attendant blessings, into remote countries: for she has nothing to fear from the church of Rome, so long as the latter pursues her present narrow policy, recoiling with affright from the pure word of God, and prostrating herself before the fallible word of man.

#### ART. VI.—MRS. HANNAH MORE'S BIBLE RHYMES.

*Bible Rhymes, on the Names of all the Books of the Old and New Testament, with Allusions to some of the principal Incidents and Characters.* By Hannah More. 12mo. pp. 94. Cadell. London, 1821.

If any one were to ask us to give them a general description of Mrs. More's spirit and manner in conversation with her friends, we do not know that we could convey the idea more effectually, than by referring them to this little book of familiar rhymes. The enquirer would there find a graceful, flowing; unstudied exhibition of the most important truths which can interest a mind anxious about its immortal concerns; the 'pastime, if we may so express ourselves, of an intellect great, and a spirit lofty in the smallest undertakings; and through the gaiety of whose unpretending couplets, a vein of pious composure, of affectionate sensibility, and tempered zeal, is characteristically apparent.

Just of this sort is the conversation of Hannah More,—easy, pointed, unassuming, pure, spiritual, and learned. We have, therefore, a great value for this little book, as a sort of portrait of the ordinary manner of this distinguished woman.

It is not to be expected that we should make an elaborate article upon this unlaboured production, which was written as an attractive preparation of the young mind for the studious perusal of the Sacred Volume, by laying before it a short, familiar, and condensed view of its properties, distinctions, and general excellence. This has been done in verse, of the four feet measure, with an apology for its unsuitableness to the dignity of the subject, for the sake of bringing the matter more within the grasp of young memories, and of giving to the work an air of less pretension, and perhaps of greater cheerfulness. For the object evidently in the view of the author, we think this little performance well calculated, and that it would answer the best of purposes to lodge the greater part of it in the memory of a young person, exemplifying its several delineations by specimens from the sacred book itself. We will now let the work speak for itself; and we trust that the reader will agree with us, that in the extracts we shall produce, which are taken without much selection, there is more of real poetical merit than the title “Biblical Rhymes” adequately expresses.

The Book of Psalms, and the leading circumstances of the life and character of the royal minstrel, are glanced at with great spirit and effect in the following lines, the words and argument of which convey important truths, which cannot be too early and hardly too late impressed upon the heart.

“Is it a seraph strikes the strings?  
Or is it royal David sings?  
Thy PSALMS divinely bring to view,  
Jesus, thy root and offspring too.  
Mark, how the author's hallow'd lays  
Begin with prayer, and end with praise!  
Commerce how sure! which, while it gives  
Due payment, rich returns receives;  
As tides, which from the shore recede,  
Return to fill the native bed,  
So praise, which we to God impart,  
Comes back in blessings to the heart.  
Gainful return, to man when given  
Such interchange 'twixt earth and heaven!” (P. 28.)

The prophet Isaiah holds his proper distinction among the subjects recorded in this pious little manual. He is very sweetly announced, and we are not afraid to say, that it was necessary to be endued with the feelings both of a poet and a Christian to

be qualified for describing, as Mrs. More has done, the excellencies of this sublime Organ of the Holy Spirit.

"Thee, great Isaiah, dare I paint,  
Prophet, evangelist, and saint?  
So just thy strong prospective view,  
'Tis prophecy and history too.  
Rapt in futurity, he saw,  
The Gospel supersede the law.

"Prophet! in thy immortal lines,  
The fulness of perfection shines;  
There, present things the Spirit seals,  
There, things that shall be he reveals.  
Doctrine and warning, prayer and praise,  
Alike our admiration raise.  
Amaz'd, we see the hand divine  
Each thought direct, inspire each line.  
Still has the seraph's burning coal  
Left its deep impress on the soul;  
Still shall the sacred fire survive,  
Warm all who read, touch all who live!

"'Twere hopeless to attempt the song,  
So vast, so deep, so sweet, so strong!  
Fain would I tell how Sharon's rose,  
In solitary deserts blows;  
Fain would I speak of Carmel's hill,  
Whose trees the barren waste shall fill;  
Of Lebanon's transplanted shade,  
To sandy valleys how convey'd;  
The noble metaphors we find  
To loftiest objects there assign'd.  
These splendid scenes before us bring  
Th' invisible redeeming King.  
In every image, every line,  
Messiah! we behold Thee shine." (P. 35, 36.)

"Here all God's attributes unite;  
The gracious and the infinite:  
Beyond imagination's dream,  
Thy true, august, and holy theme.  
All that the loftiest mind conceives,  
All that the strongest faith believes,  
All were too feeble to express  
God's love, his power, his holiness!  
His length, and breadth, and depth, and height,  
In all their wide extremes unite:  
No danger of excess is here;  
To sink too low is all thy fear." (P. 37.)

"To Him all Lebanon could bring  
Only a worthless offering;

The waters at His bidding, stand  
 Within the hollow of his hand;  
 The mountains in his scales are weigh'd,  
 The hills are in his balance laid;  
 Measur'd by his almighty hand,  
 The globe a particle of sand !  
 Though with tremendous arm he come,  
 With power which strikes the nations dumb ;  
 Centre and source of light and love,  
 In whom we are, and live, and move ;  
 Though not confin'd to time or place,  
 Not to the vast extent of space ;  
 Objects of his paternal care,  
 The meanest still his mercies share ;  
 He who in highest heaven resides,  
 Yet in the contrite heart abides.  
 Now, shepherd-like, his flock he feeds,  
 The tender bears, the feeble leads ;  
 Power to the weak, but trusting saints  
 He gives, and might to him that faints.  
 " The young may fail, the strong be weak,  
 But all who his salvation seek,  
 Strong in the Lord, shall be renew'd ;  
 With new-born vigour be endu'd ;  
 On eagles' wings sublimely soar,  
 To fear, and faint, and sin no more." (P. 37—39.)

The interesting tale of the fortitude and miraculous deliverance of the three holy children, whose pious contumacy was proof against the terrors of the fiery furnace, is told in very pleasing couplets.

" The king an image vast display'd,  
 Enormous was the statue made :  
 With impious zeal his laws ordain,  
 All should repair to Dura's plain.  
 Princes and counsellors appear,  
 Rulers of provinces be there !  
 At sound of sackbut, psaltery, flute,  
 All must attend : who dares dispute  
 The high behest, who will not own  
 The idol's godhead, shall be thrown  
 Deep in the fiery cauldron's blaze,  
 And burn in that capacious vase.  
 • " See Dura's plain how crowded now !  
 All make the prostituted vow ;  
 All praise, all honour, all adore ;  
 The zealous king can ask no more.  
 What, all? Is no exception found,  
 In idol worship *all* abound ?



" The holy brotherhood behold,  
 In God's almighty strength how bold !  
 Nor flute nor sackbut's sound controls  
 The firm, fix'd purpose of their souls.  
 Their eyes, their hearts, are rais'd on high,  
 The burning cauldron they defy. .  
 Now hear the valiant brothers speak,  
 See them! magnanimously meek.  
 No arts to soothe the haughty king,  
 No charge against his idol bring,  
 No doubts, no fears, no hesitation ;  
 They wait no slow deliberation.  
 Prepar'd they stand. They scorn to swerve :  
 ' Thy gods, O king, we will not serve ;  
 We serve Jehovah ; his command  
 Can save his servants from thy hand,  
 E'en from the flames his children save,  
 Snatch from the fearful fiery grave.  
 If not, obedience is his due,  
 In life, in death, resolv'd and true,  
 No image shall our worship see,  
 No idol, though set up by thee.'  
 The king with madd'ning fury turns ;  
 With sevenfold heat the cauldron burns ;  
 To such intensity it grew,  
 The men who cast them in, it slew.  
 The ardent blaze unaw'd they dare,  
 They burn not ! God's own Son is there !  
 Sav'd by an all-controlling hand,  
 Unhurt, amidst the flames they stand.  
 Triumphant Lord ! sav'd by thy power,  
 Nor floods shall drown, nor flames devour.  
 " The awe-struck king the scene surveys ;  
 Hear him the cry of rapture raise :  
 ' They live ! come forth ! let my command  
 Be strait proclaim'd throughout the land ;  
 Let Babylon's wide empire know  
 God reigns above, and rules below.' " (P. 42—44.)

The imagery of the sublime Habakkuk is described with great spirit.

" God came from Teman ; what array  
 Of confluent glories marks his way !  
 Brightness above, around was sent ;  
 The pestilence before him went,  
 The skies with unknown splendours blaze,  
 Heaven shows his power, and earth his praise ;  
 The everlasting mountains fled,  
 The rivers trembled in their bed ;

Bow'd the perpetual hills ; the deep  
Through its dark caves was heard to sweep.  
His arrows fly ! Lord, at thy will  
Th' astonish'd sun and moon stand still !  
The shining of thy glitt'ring spear  
Transfix the heathen bands with fear.  
One glance of thy pervading eye  
Measures the earth ; the nations fly  
Dissolv'd and scatter'd ; Cushan's tents  
Burst forth in deep and loud laments.  
They tremble at the distant sound,  
Sudden thy troops their tents surround.

“ Yet though Chaldea's hostile band  
Pour in their hordes, despoil the land ;  
Yet though the fig-tree may be found  
With neither fruit nor blossom crown'd ;  
The olive and the vine decay,  
And flocks and herds be torn away ;  
My song of praise my God shall hear,  
More free, more fervent, more sincere.  
' Revive thy work ; ' though all should fail,  
Let grace and godliness prevail.

“ Lord of my strength ; my joy, my crown,  
Thy boundless mercies let me own !  
Thy great salvation sets me free,  
I shall have all in having Thee.” (P. 50—52.)

The New Testament is rightly observed by Mrs. More to be less pliant than the old to the purposes of poetry. Truths so transcendent must be approached with a holy fear ; and scarcely less than genuine inspiration can, with safety, venture upon the thrice sacred theme. Mrs. More's fervour has elevated her to the confines, and her pious discretion has interdicted her advance. It is in the following manner that she has tremblingly touched her lyre.

“ We pass each suffering, glorious scene,  
The manger and the Cross between ;  
All he began to do, and teach  
We pass, till Calvary we reach.  
The attempt almost too bold we deem,  
And trembling touch the awful theme.  
All eloquence, all power of speech,  
Imagination's loftiest reach,  
Fall short, and could but faintly prove  
Th' incarnate God's last scene of love.  
Abandon'd, none his woes partake ;  
One friend denies him, all forsake.

“ Yet though the sacred blood was shed,  
' Captivity was captive led.' ”

The annals of mankind explore,  
 Did ever conqueror before  
 Make palpable to human eyes,  
 Achieve, such glorious victories?  
 Besides the triumphs of his grace  
 Which only faith's purg'd eye can trace;  
 Marvels applied to sight and sense,  
 Exhibit his omnipotence.  
 Shrouded Divinity confest,  
 What prodigies the Lord attest!  
 Things contrary, opposing creatures  
 Struck at the sight, forget their natures;  
 The human voice is mute; the dumb  
 And senseless eloquent become.  
 Things breathless, things inanimate  
 Renounce, nay contradict their fate.  
 Things never meant to sympathise  
 Astonish unbelieving eyes.  
 The firm earth trembled at the view;  
 Th' indignant sun his light withdrew;  
 No natural cause eclips'd his face,  
 He would not witness man's disgrace.  
 Asunder torn, the rocks proclaim  
 Their sympathies with loud acclaim.  
 The yawning sepulchres uncloze;  
 To life their sleeping tenants rose;  
 The Temple's vail is seen to rend,  
 And with it all distinctions end!  
 All various nature takes a part,  
 All, save the obdurate human heart.  
 The soldier, and th' expiring thief  
 Alone, proclaim their firm belief.  
 Lord, 'It is finished:' here we meet  
 Promise and prophecy complete." (P. 63—65.)

We will give one more passage, from which we may deduce no  
 very faint impression of the consolation and corroboration which  
 faith imparts to the soul, when no earthly solace remains.

"Thy triumphs, Faith, we need not take  
 Alone from the blest martyr's stake;  
 In scenes obscure, no less we see  
 That faith is a reality.  
 An evidence of things not seen,  
 A substance firm whereon to lean.  
 Go search the cottager's lone room,  
 The day scarce piercing through the gloom;  
 The Christian on his dying-bed • •  
 Unknown, unletter'd, hardly fed;  
 No flatt'ring witnesses attend,  
 To tell how glorious was his end;

Save in the book of life, his name  
Unheard, he never dreamt of fame.  
No human consolation near,  
No voice to soothe, no friend to cheer.  
Of every earthly stay bereft,  
And nothing—but his Saviour left.  
Fast sinking to his kindred dust,  
The Word of Life is still his trust.  
The joy God's promises impart  
Lies like a cordial at his heart;  
Unshaken faith its strength supplies,  
He loves, believes, adores, and dies. (P. 85, 86.)

Such is the productive energy of the mind of Mrs. Hannah More, amidst declining years, sufferings, and bereavements. She now pursues the remainder of her journey alone, after losses which have left the world almost a wilderness for her. But she treads the valley not companionless; her thoughts are cheerful company, faith supports her steps, hope illumines her path, and charity cheers her progress. She has still a large family that stand spiritually related to her among the mothers, and wives, and daughters of Britain, and at this moment there does not live the woman connected with society by so many gentle ties and endearing affinities. When we consider her long and laborious service in the cause of humanity; the diffusive good wrought by the various productions of her intellect; her tracts, which have opened the prospect of another world in the darkest corners of that in which we live; her treatises, which have forced their way among the highest ranks, and gained for truth, and conscience, and the claims of the soul, a short hearing amidst the revelry and riot of tumultuary pleasure; when we think of those personal labours of love, that once filled a wide circuit of visitation round her happy residence, when her presence carried joy, and consolation, and instruction, to the scenes of want, and woe, and brutal ignorance, we feel a sort of kindred cord that binds us to her, together with the whole human race; and when we think of the contrast in which those stand opposed to her, who, in their accursed publications, labour to ensnare the soul, and to intercept the hopes of the rising generation, or who, as politicians, or lawyers, or pseudo-philanthropists, contend for the diabolical influence of the press, under pretence of upholding its freedom, we can hardly look upon such beings as partaking with her of a common nature;—the distance between them is so immeasurably vast, that we can scarcely do justice to it without either exalting this lady above human praise, or sinking those men below human charity.

## ART. VII.—RECORDS OF THE REALM.

*Reports from the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty to execute the Measures, recommended by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, respecting the Public Records of the Kingdom, &c. 1800—1819. In two volumes, folio.*

THESE splendid volumes, which have just issued from the press of his Majesty's printers, do not in strictness fall under the cognizance of our tribunal, having been executed by royal command, for the use and information of the House of Peers. But as they contain matters of the highest importance to our national history, and also to the security of freehold property, together with a satisfactory account of the annual expenditure of very considerable parliamentary grants, which (we happen to know) has been conducted with the most scrupulous regard to economy, and to the actual value of the labour performed; we gladly seize the opportunity thus presented to us, of redeeming the pledge given in a former volume of our journal\*, and of offering to our readers an outline of the proceedings of the Right Hon. the Commissioners on the Public Records of the Realm.

In pursuance of an address to his late Majesty from the House of Commons, in 1800, a commission was issued, empowering certain Right Honourable and learned persons therein mentioned, to investigate the state of the national records in Great Britain. The result of their inquiries was communicated to Parliament in an elaborate Report, of which we gave a notice in the volume above referred to. The royal commission was renewed in 1806, and again in 1817; and the details of the Commissioners' proceedings are comprised in the volumes, of which we are now to present an outline to our readers.

After appointing sub-commissioners and other officers to assist them in the execution of their important duties, and establishing a system of monthly and annual returns from all persons employed by them, (by which fraud or imposition was effectually prevented,) the commissioners directed their attention to the investigation of the state of the buildings in which our national records are deposited; the formation of catalogues, calendars, and indexes for facilitating reference to them; the transfers of certain records to other offices to which they most suitably belonged, and the selection of original records and documents for publication.

I. With respect to the state of the depositories of our national records, it is sufficient to remark, that measures have been taken towards providing a more secure repository for the state papers in London, and also towards rendering the arrangement of the State-Paper Office more complete, and more suitable to the dignity and importance of their nature, and their utility to the public service: objects for which no adequate provision had been made prior to the constitution of the Record Commission. Increased accommodation has also been provided for the Journal and Paper-Office of the House of Commons, for the Record-Offices in the Chapter-House at Westminster, and at the Tower of London, and for certain offices belonging to the Court of Chancery. There remain, however, a few repositories in London, the insecurity of which has often, but as yet to little purpose, been brought before the consideration of Parliament. In Scotland, the case is widely different. A General Register House was erected many years since at Edinburgh, the arrangements of which are admirable. Under the direction of the Commissioners for Scotland, that edifice has undergone very material repairs, and the disposition of the multifarious, national, and local documents, which are there deposited, has been greatly improved.

II. To those, who are interested in the transmission of freehold property, or in the exercise of particular feudal franchises, rights, or emoluments, which were originally granted by the sovereigns of England or Scotland; it is of the utmost importance that there should be accurate *catalogues*, *calendars*, and *indexes* to the Records, by which such estates, franchises, or rights were conferred; and in this department, the labours of the commissioners and of the officers employed by them have been eminently successful.

In the State-Paper Office, great exertions have been made since the year 1802, in compiling calendars to the royal letters, books of the Council of State during the interregnum, papers relating to trade, fisheries, foreign plantations, law-matters, &c. &c. *Thirteen* calendars of this description have been already completed, and five others are in progress. Much useful labour has also been bestowed in arranging and binding more than 400 volumes of various papers and documents, relating to public affairs between the years 1516 and 1780. The Records, transmitted in 1770 from the House of Lords to the old State-Paper Office in the Treasury, have been examined and distributed into two classes: one relating to civil affairs from Henry III. to Henry VIII.; and the other to military matters from Edward III. to Henry VIII.; and two chronological calendars of these articles have been formed. In the Chapter-

House at Westminster, the arrangement of the Records shall be completed, and an entire general catalogue of its contents, has been formed, copies of which are deposited in that office, in the Tower of London, and in the British Museum. In the Chapter-House also, the indexes and calendars to particular series of Records have been revised and enlarged, and various new indexes to others have been made or are in progress; and the numerous treaties between England and foreign countries, with other state-papers and documents, have been newly arranged.

At the Tower, considerable progress has been made in arranging the State Papers, from the reign of Henry III, to that of Edward III, and in arranging and indexing the proceedings of the Court of Chancery, during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I. Similar progress has been made in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office (which is under the controul of the Court of Exchequer); and in the Register-House at Edinburgh. Various catalogues are in progress, adapted to the improved arrangement of the Records of that part of the United Kingdom.

In prosecuting the researches necessary for these various purposes, different instruments were discovered in one office, which might with advantage to the public service be more appropriately transferred to others. In such cases the requisite transfers have been made. But what is yet more important is, that in the course of these inquiries many valuable records have been found, which had been supposed to be no longer in existence, or which had been lost in the confused heaps of unarranged materials. Some of these discoveries have been made in the progress of arranging the unsorted records of different offices, and others during the course of a search for charters and statutes in the cathedrals, universities, and other public repositories of records throughout England and Ireland. The curious and interesting details of these discoveries fill many pages of the Reports under our consideration, which we have not room to specify; we pass therefore to

III. The Works printed by order of the Commissioners.—These are of two classes, viz. 1. Calendars, Catalogues, and Indexes; and 2. Original Records, which have been selected and published either entire, or in abstracts, according to their apparent utility.

FIRST, among the *Calendars, Catalogues, &c. of English Records*, the consolidated Index\* to the two celebrated volumes preserved in the Chapter-House at Westminster, and known by

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\* *Libri Censualis vocati Domesday-Book Indices.* London, 1811, folio.

the name of Domesday Book, justly claims the pre-eminence. Domesday Book, one of the most antient records in England, is the register made by command of William the Conqueror, from which judgment was to be given upon the value, tenure, and services of the lands therein described. The exact time of the Conqueror's undertaking this survey is differently stated by historians, who have designated it by different appellations, which it is not necessary to enumerate. From the memorial of the completion of the survey, at the end of the second volume, it is evident that it was finished in the year 1086: and from an attentive comparison and consideration of several passages contained in the Record, that date is not only confirmed, but there is also reason to believe that, by the multiplication of subordinate inquests, the work must have been completed in a short time: and that, from a transcript or abridgement of the returns or breviates from the different counties, the great register was afterwards formed, which has ever since been known by the name of *Domesday*.

Concerning the origin and object of this Record, historians are not agreed. Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, affirms that this survey was made in imitation of the policy of Alfred, who, at the time he divided the kingdom into counties, hundreds, and tithings, had an inquisition taken, which was digested into a register that was called, from the place in which it was repositied, the Roll of Winchester. There is, however, strong reason for doubting the formation of such a survey in the time of Alfred; as we have only one solitary authority for its existence; and the most diligent investigation has not been able to recover, among the records either of the Saxon or of later times, the slightest indication that such a survey was ever known. The account contained in the Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1085, (which enters minutely into the motives for the formation of this survey,) is in all probability correct, and we believe is now generally adopted. From that venerable fragment of early English history, we learn that in the nineteenth year of King William's reign an invasion was apprehended from Denmark; and the military constitution of the Saxons being then laid aside, and no other substituted in its stead, the kingdom was wholly defenceless, which occasioned the king to bring over a large army of Normans, and Bretons, who were quartered upon every landholder, and greatly oppressed the people. This apparent weakness, together with the grievances occasioned by a foreign force, might co-operate with the king's remonstrances, and the better incline the nobility to listen to his proposals for putting them into a posture of defence. For, as soon as the



danger was past, the king held a great council to inquire into the state of the nation; the immediate consequence of which was the compiling of the great survey, called Domesday-Book, which was finished the next year, (A. D. 1086,) and in the latter end of that very year the king was attended by all his nobility at Sarum, where all the principal land-holders submitted their lands to the yoke of military tenure, became the king's vassals, and did homage and fealty to his person.

For the adjusting of this survey certain commissioners, called the King's Justiciaries, were appointed, who (it appears) associated to them some principal person in each county: and these inquisitors, upon the oaths of the sheriffs, the lords of each manor, the presbyters of each church, the reeves of every hundred, the bailiffs and six villans of every village, were to inquire into the name of the place, the person who held it in the time of King Edward the Confessor; who was the present possessor; how many hides (an uncertain measure) of land the manor contained; how many carrucates or plough-lands (that is, as much arable as could be managed with one plough and the beasts belonging thereto in one year), were in demesne; how many homagers, villans, cotarii, servi, freemen, and tenants in socage there were; what quantity of wood, meadow, and pasture; how many mills and fish ponds; how much was added or taken away; what was the gross value in King Edward's time, and how much each free-man or soc-man had or has. All this was to be *trebly* estimated:—first, as the estate was held in the time of the Confessor, then as it was bestowed by King William; and, thirdly, as its value stood at the formation of the survey. The jurors, moreover, were to state whether any advance could be made in the value. The inquisitions having been taken, were sent by the Justiciaries to Winchester, and there classed and methodised, and entered in a register such as we now view it. The four northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durlam, are not described in the survey; neither is Lancashire under its proper title. It is not improbable that the royal commissioners might find it impossible to take any exact survey of the three counties northernmost of all, as they had suffered so much from the Conqueror's revenge, and also from the frequent inroads of the Scots: and the whole of the country between the Tees and Tyne (forming the county of Durham) had been conferred by Alfred on the bishop of that see, who, at the coming of the Conqueror, was reputed a Count Palatine. Upon the whole, the survey appears to have been made with as much exactness as was possible. It is evident from several passages of Domesday Book, that charters were

exhibited to the commissioners. A very large portion of the forged charters, which are extant at this day, are to be referred to the period when this survey was made; they were fabricated by the monks, in their anxiety to make the titles to their property good when the Norman commissioners came among them; some had even forged seals, an appendage of Norman origin which was introduced by Edward the Confessor.

By the completion of the Domesday Survey, the Conqueror acquired an exact knowledge of the possessions of the crown. It afforded him the names of the landholders, who (as may be expected from the very numerous forfeitures that were caused by the prodigious slaughter of the English nobility at the battle of Hastings, and by the subsequent fruitless insurrections of those who survived,) were chiefly the soldiers and ministerial dependents of William the Norman. The churches and monasteries, however, continued to retain their ancient patrimony; in some instances, with considerable additions from the Conqueror himself. Further, the Domesday Survey enabled him to fix the proportion of *Danegeld* \* on the property of each landholder. This odious tax, from the payment of which the Confessor had absolved the English, was revived at an early period of William's reign, and had become subject to numerous exemptions in favour of the clergy and religious houses, as well as of the great lords and barons, &c. who held by military service, and also in favour of persons who claimed to be exempt from it under especial grants from the King. Thus the produce of the tax was greatly diminished.

Independently of the immediate uses of this survey to the Conqueror, it is to this day a record of no small importance to the historian and to the antiquary, for the light it throws on the different classes of persons into which the English people were divided—the different denominations of lands, their culture, and measurement—the different denominations of money, and the persons and places that enjoyed the liberty of coinage—territorial jurisdictions and franchises—tenures and services—criminal and civil jurisdictions—ecclesiastical and historical matters therein noticed, besides many curious illustrations of ancient manners, which we have not room to detail.

But the historian and antiquary are not the only persons interested in this venerable document: it has always been considered as the highest authority in the courts of law, and has been preserved from the time of William the Conqueror until now

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\* *Danegeld* was the tribute, imposed by the Danes upon the Saxons, of twelve pence on every hide of land through the realm of England.

with the most scrupulous attention. Appeals to the decision of this survey occur so early as the reigns of Henry I. and King John: in subsequent reigns, the pleadings in ancient demesne are extremely numerous, and the proof of ancient demesne still rests with the Domesday Survey. Other cases, in which its evidence is yet appealed to in our courts of law, are, in proving the antiquity of mills, and in setting up prescriptions *in non decimando* (that is, to be discharged absolutely from the payment of tithes). By the statute 9 Edw. II., called *Articuli Cleri*, it was determined that prohibition should not lie upon demand of tithe for a *new* mill. The mill, therefore, which is found in Domesday, must be presumed older than the ninth year of Edward the Second, and is of course discharged, by its evidence, from tithe. Again, as most of the religious houses were exempted generally from paying tithes of lands in their own hands, from the paucity of dates in early documents, the Domesday Survey is very frequently the only evidence which can be adduced that the lands claiming a discharge were actually vested in such monastery or religious house.

The original manuscript of Domesday Book is in two volumes: it is written on vellum, of singular fineness and beauty, partly with red, but chiefly with black ink; and, notwithstanding the long series of years that have escaped since it was finished, it is still legible with great ease. The first is a large folio, written on three hundred and eighty-two pages of vellum, in a small but plain character, and in double columns on each page. It contains a survey of most of the counties of England, with the exception of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and part of Lancashire, which were never surveyed for the reason above noticed. The second volume is a small folio, written on four hundred and fifty double pages of vellum, in single columns, and in a character somewhat larger than that of the preceding volume. It contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk. Part of the county of Rutland is included in Northamptonshire, and part of Lancashire in the counties of York and Chester. The order pursued in each county is this:—The king's name and lands are first set down, and then those of the church, which are succeeded by the names and lands of the nobles according to their rank, who held of the king in capite.

In 1767, in consequence of an address from the House of Lords, his late Majesty gave directions for the publication of Domesday Book, among other records. An engraved fac-simile was at first contemplated; but the great expense of such an undertaking caused it to be laid aside:

and a tolerably exact fac-simile metal type having at length been obtained, the editing of the work was confided to Mr. Abraham Farley, Deputy-Keeper of the Records in the Chapter-House at Westminster, a gentleman of singular learning and experience in this department of literature, who had had almost daily recourse to the book for more than forty years. The work was commenced in 1770, and was completed early in 1783, at the press of Mr. John Nichols: the type, with which it was executed, was destroyed in the fire which consumed his printing-office, in February, 1808. Accurately as Mr. Farley accomplished the task which had been assigned to him, the printed Domesday was comparatively of little value for want of minute indexes. This deficiency has been supplied, under the direction of the Record Commission, in a folio volume, containing indexes of names of persons, of places, and things, so minute (and from frequent reference, we can state, so accurate), that the object of inquiry, if in the work, may be readily ascertained. These indexes have been compiled by the clerks in the Record Office of the Chapter-House, under the superintendence of the late Right Hon. George Rose, the principal keeper of that repository of our national muniments: and to them is prefixed a very elaborate Introduction to Domesday, by Mr. Ellis, one of the librarians of the British Museum, containing dissertations on the formation and execution of the Record, the principal matters therein contained, its original uses, conservation, and authority in courts of law. From these disquisitions, which are comprised in eighty-eight well-filled folio pages, the preceding particulars have been chiefly abridged. In further illustration of this ancient and important record, the Commissioners have thought it their duty to print a supplemental volume of similar surveys, of nearly co-eval date, for Exeter, Ely, and Winton or Winchester, which appear to have been the original inquisitions whence the general survey was compiled, so far as relates to those districts: and, as the county palatine of Durham was not comprised within the Conqueror's survey, they have deemed it expedient to add the contents of a similar survey for that county, denominated the *Boldon Book*, though its date is somewhat later. This supplement to Domesday forms a large volume in folio, and is enriched with a critical and historical dissertation on the records there printed, together with appropriate indexes, by its editor, Mr. Ellis.

The following extract will give our readers an idea of the nature of this venerable Record:

## IN BRIXISTAN HUND'.

Com

Rex ten<sup>4</sup> BERMUNDESYE. herald<sup>9</sup> tenuit. Tē se defē  
p. xiii. hid. m<sup>o</sup> p. xii. hid. Tra. ē. viii. car.<sup>4</sup> In dñio. ē una  
car.<sup>4</sup> 7 xxv. viii 7 xxxiii. bord<sup>4</sup> cū. un. car.<sup>4</sup>

Ibi nova 7 pulchra eccl<sup>4</sup>ia. 7 xx. ac<sup>4</sup> p<sup>4</sup>ti. Silva<sup>4</sup> v. porc  
de pasnag. In Lundonia. xiii. bur<sup>4</sup>ges de xliiii. den

T. R. E. 7 m<sup>o</sup> va<sup>4</sup>. xv. lib 7 vicecom<sup>4</sup> hē. xx. so<sup>4</sup>.

Comes morit ten. i. hidā quē T. R. E. 7 post fuit in hoc

That is:

## IN BRIXISTAN HUNDREDO

Rex tenet BERMUNDESYE. Heraldus comes tenuit. Tunc se defendebat pro xiii hidis, modo pro xii hidis. Terra est viii carrucatarum. In dominio est una carrucata et xxi villani et xxxiii bordarii cum iiii carrucatis. Ibi nova et pulchra ecclesia, et xx acra prati. Silva v porcis de pasnagio. In Lundonia xiii burgenses de xliiii denariis. Tempore Regis Edwardi et modo valet xv libras et vicecomes habet xx solidos. Comes Moritoniensis tenet i hidam quae Tempore Regis Edwardi et post fuit in hoc Manerio.

In English thus:

"The king holds BERMUNDESYE. Earl HERALD held it [before]. At that time it was rated at thirteen hides; now, at twelve. The arable land is eight carrucates [or plough-lands]. There is one carrucate in demesne; and twenty-five villans, and thirty-three bordars, with four carrucates. There is a new and handsome church, with twenty acres of meadow, and woodland for five hogs in pasnage time. In LONDON are thirteen burgesses at forty-four pence. In the time of King Edward it was valued, as it now is, at fifteen pounds; and the sheriff has twenty shillings. The Earl of Moriton holds one hide, which in the time of King Edward, and afterwards, was in this manor."

(2.) *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem*\*.—The Records preserved in the Tower of London, intitled *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, or, as they are sometimes called, *Escheats*, commence with the early part of the reign of Henry III. and end with the third year of the reign of Richard III. The rest of the series is preserved at the Rolls Chapel. These inquisitions were taken by virtue of writs directed to the escheators of each county or district, to summon a jury on oath; who were to inquire of what lands any person

\* *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem, sive Escheatarum temporibus Regum Hen. III. Edw. I. et Edw. II. Vol. I. London, 1806.—Temp. Regis Ric. I. Vol. II. 1808. Temporibus Regum Ric. II.—Ric. III. Vol. III. 1821;*

died seised, and by what rents or services the same were held; who was the next heir, and of what age, that the King might be informed of his right of escheat or wardship. They also show, whether the tenant was attainted of treason, or was an alien (in either of which cases his lands were seised into the King's hands), as well as the quantity, quality, and value of such lands. These inquisitions post mortem constitute the best evidence which can be obtained, of the descent of families and of property, so long as this process made part of the law of the land. To superintend and regulate these inquiries, the Court of Wards and Liveries was instituted by the statute of 32 Hen. VIII.; and this court itself was abolished at the Restoration of King Charles II., together with the oppressive tenures upon which it was founded. The Calendar to these Records, now published in three volumes, is a transcript of the official calendars, revised and corrected with the originals, by the record-clerks in the Tower. They are furnished (as all the other publications of the Record Commission are) with ample indexes of places and of names of persons.

(3.) and (4.) *Calendars of the Charter-Rolls, and Inquisitiones ad quod Damnum*.\*—The *Charter-Rolls* in the Tower of London commence in the first year of the reign of King John, 1199, and end with the reign of Edward IV. 1483. They contain royal grants of privileges to cities, towns, bodies corporate, and private trading companies belonging to those cities and towns; grants of markets, fairs, and free warrens; grants of creation of nobility from the eleventh year of the reign of Edward II. to the end of the reign of Edward IV. together with grants of privileges to religious houses, &c. The *Inquisitiones ad quod Damnum* begin with the first year of the reign of Edward II. 1307, and end with the thirty-eighth year of Henry VI. They were taken by virtue of writs directed to the escheators of each county, when any grant of a market, fair, or other privilege, or licence for the alienation of lands was solicited; and these escheators were to inquire, by a jury, whether such grant or alienation was prejudicial to the King, or to others, in case the same should be made. The official calendars to these two sorts of records are comprized in one volume. That of the *Charter-Rolls* is printed from the manuscript volumes, preserved in the Tower, apparently written in the time of James I.; and the *Calendar of the Inquisitiones ad quod Damnum* is printed from one made under the direction of the late Mr. Astle, keeper of the Records in the Tower of London.

\* 1. *Calendarium Rotulorum Chartarum et Inquisitionum ad quod Damnum*. London, 1802, folio.

(5.) *Patent Rolls*.\*—The Patent Rolls in the Tower of London commence in the third year of the reign of King John, and end in the twenty-third year of that of Edward IV. They contain grants of offices and lands, restitutions of temporalities to bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastical persons; confirmations of grants made to bodies corporate, both ecclesiastical and civil; grants in fee-farm, special liveries, grants of offices, patents of creation of peers, and licences of all kinds which pass the great seal; and on the backs of these rolls are commissions to justices of the peace, of sewers, and all commissions, indeed, which pass the great seal. The calendar to these rolls, now published, is printed from four manuscript volumes, purchased by Mr. Astle in 1775 for public use, collated with two manuscripts in the Cottonian Library in the British Museum, from which many omissions and deficiencies in the Tower have been supplied.

(6.) *Abstract of the Exchequer Rolls, called Originalia*.†—These Records are the estreats, transmitted from the Court of Chancery into the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office, of all grants of the crown enrolled on the Patent and other rolls, whereon any rent is reserved, any salary payable, or any service to be performed. The Abstract now published, in two volumes, commences with the roll of the twentieth year of Henry III. no earlier record of this nature being discoverable, and concludes with the end of the reign of Edward III. It has been compiled from a careful examination of the office repositories with the Records themselves.

Each of the preceding compilations relates only to the early periods of our national history; but, besides these, there have been published Catalogues of the Cottonian, Harleian, and Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum, which are executed in such a manner, as must not only greatly facilitate researches in that noble monument of national munificence, but also enhance its value in the judgment of all who are competent duly to appreciate the treasures of historical, legal, antiquarian, and biblical information which are there deposited.

(7.) *Cottonian MSS.*‡—The high estimation in which the Cottonian Library has ever been held by all persons capable of forming a just notion of its value, is amply evinced, not only by the multitude of testimonies of learned men, who have had

\* *Calendarium Rotulorum Patentium, ex Turri Londinensi.* London, 1802, folio.

† *Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio. Temporibus Regum Hen. III. Edw. I. et Edw. II. Vol. I.* London, 1805. *Tempore Regis Edw. III. Vol. II.* London, 1810, folio.

‡ *Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library.* London, 1802.

opportunities of noticing its intrinsic value and real importance, but most especially, by the great solicitude which has at all times been shown by the Legislature for its safe custody and preservation, as well while it continued in the possession of the illustrious family from whom it had its origin, as since it became the property of the public.

“ Sir Robert Cotton, a descendant from a very ancient family, which in the reign of Edward III. flourished in the county of Chester, was born at Denton, near Conington, in Huntingdonshire, on the 22d of January 1570. He was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, where in 1585 he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and where he early imbibed a taste for, and laid the foundation of his pre-eminent learning in the history and antiquities of his country. This bias, on his leaving College, was greatly increased and confirmed by the free intercourse he immediately commenced with the celebrated antiquaries, Joscelin, Lambard, Camden, Noel, and several others, who about that time (though as yet unsuccessfully) attempted to establish a society for the investigation of British antiquities. Animated by the example of these assiduous collectors, he neglected no opportunity (of which abundance offered at that time) to acquire a number of chronicles, chartularies, and other original muniments, which at the late dissolution of the monasteries had found their way into the hands of private persons, who in general were by no means aware of their real importance. In these endeavours, he was surpassed by none, nor was he in fact equalled by any of his emulous contemporaries, most of whom ultimately co-operated to increase the stock he was accumulating for the benefit of his country.

“ In 1599, he accompanied his friend William Camden in a journey to the North of England, where they jointly explored the whole extent of the Picts Wall, and brought away several inscriptions and monuments, which, after having been some time deposited at Sir Robert's seat at Conington, were presented to Trinity College, Cambridge, where they are still carefully preserved. At the accession of King James I. in 1603, he was knighted. In the year 1608, he was appointed one of the commissioners for enquiring into the state of the navy. And in 1611, having been the principal promoter of the plan for the establishment of the Order of Baronets, he was himself raised to that rank, being created the thirty-sixth in succession at the first nomination.

“ After having been, during upwards of thirty years, a distinguished ornament to his country, and the principal oracle to which men in the highest stations resorted for accurate information and advice in all matters relating to the history, the rights, and the constitution of the kingdom, during which period he produced upwards of thirty tracts or dissertations, chiefly on political and constitutional subjects, most of them written at the desire of men in power, if not at the express command of his sovereign; it is no doubt greatly to be lamented that a life so meritorious, should, towards its close, have been embittered by base calumny and the arbitrary proceedings of those from whom



he had an undoubted right to expect distinguished favour and protection.

"By order of the Privy Council, once in the reign of James I. 1615, and again in the reign of Charles I. 1629, his library was locked up, as not of a nature to be exposed to public inspection, and he was himself excluded from the use of it. Shortly before his death, he caused to be signified to the privy council, "that their so long detaining his books from him, without rendering any reason for the same, had been the cause of his mortal malady." He died on the 6th of May, 1631, aged sixty years three months and fifteen days, and was buried on the south side of the church of Conington, where a suitable monument was erected to his ever-revered memory." (Report, p. 67.)

For a considerable time after his death his library continued in sequestration, and after very narrowly escaping destruction during the civil wars (when a strict search was made for all legal and constitutional documents in order to destroy them), it was at length restored to Sir Thomas Cotton, who both preserved and enlarged it. His son, Sir John, being desirous that the library should be preserved in the name and family of the Cottons, for the benefit of the public, an act of parliament to that effect was passed in 1700; and in 1703 his mansion of Cotton-house was purchased, by virtue of another act, for the public benefit. For some reason, which cannot now be ascertained, the library was removed in 1712, to Essex House, in Essex Street in the Strand, whence in 1730 it was re-conveyed to Westminster, and deposited in a house belonging to the crown, in Little Dean's Yard. Here shortly after, viz. on the 23d of October, 1731, a fire broke out, which nearly proved fatal to the library. Several MSS. were destroyed; many others were damaged; and the remainder were temporarily deposited in a new building designed for the dormitory of Westminster School. At length, on the formation of the British Museum, in 1753, the Legislature directed the Cottonian Library to be deposited in that national repository, and that the representatives of the Cotton Family should nominate two trustees in succession, to be for ever added to those appointed by authority of parliament.

In execution of the trust reposed in them, the curators of the British Museum first caused the Library to be deposited in a safe and conspicuous part of the department of manuscripts. Being, however, aware that much still remained to be done in order to fulfil the intentions of the Founder, the Donor, and the Legislature, and also to render the Library as useful as the nature of its contents would admit, the curators, in the year 1793, directed Mr. Planta, who was the keeper of that department, to take every step that might be deemed advisable to restore such of the damaged volumes as were thought capable of further repairs, and to prepare a new and accurate catalogue,

to replace the imperfect one compiled by Dr. Thomas Smith, which was printed at Oxford in 1696. In performing the task thus assigned to him, Mr. Planta first caused all the volumes to be regularly paged, or at least the old paging to be accurately ascertained, without however obliterating the old numbers, since that would have proved fatal to the many references that have been made to these manuscripts. He then proceeded to examine the hundred and eighty-five damaged bundles, which had been preserved in cases, and found means, after many repeated and not a few unsuccessful attempts, to arrange several volumes and parts of volumes of state papers. Some of the shrivelled manuscripts on vellum he likewise found capable of being restored, though not without great care and dexterity on the part of the bookbinder. With his assistance, Mr. Planta succeeded in restoring fifty-one of these hundred and eighty-five damaged manuscripts, which are now bound in forty-four volumes; and though several of them are still defective, especially where parts have been consumed or defaced by fire; yet, upon the whole, much useful and authentic information is still preserved in them. The remaining sixty-one bundles appear to him to be irretrievable; and indeed most of them seem to be obscure tracts and fragments of little or no importance. They are now contained in sixty-two cases. This arduous work being accomplished, Mr. Planta applied himself to the compilation of the Catalogue. And here each separate article has been entered in its successive order, under as short and yet comprehensive a title as could be devised, which, especially in the multitude of letters and tracts in a great variety of antiquated languages and hand-writings, and without either argument or rubrics, was attended with no small degree of difficulty and labour. Particular pains have been taken to discover the true authors of anonymous and pseudonymous works; in many instances, especially in anonymous poems, the first lines have been transcribed in the Catalogue in order to identify the piece. Notice has been taken of such works as have been published, and references have been made to the titles of the publications, or to the collections in which they have been edited. All possible endeavours have been used to ascertain the dates of the letters and state papers, where (as has but too often been the case in the last and the preceding century) the writers have omitted them; and even approximations, with marks of interrogation, have been inserted where the exact dates could not be obtained. The folio of each article has been entered; and the number of folios in each volume has been noted, both in the catalogue and at the end of the volume, in hopes thereby to prevent all future mutilation, or at least to lay it open to detection. The form of

each volume, the material on which it is written, and its age, if prior to the fifteenth century, when it could be ascertained with any degree of probability, have likewise been described in the catalogue.

Of Mr. Planta's labour in this undertaking, our readers will be able readily to form an opinion, when we add that his catalogue contains not fewer than *twenty-six thousand* articles, while that of Dr. Smith does not much exceed six thousand two hundred, not one fourth part of the contents of the eight hundred and sixty-one volumes of which the Cottonian Library now consists.\* Mr. P.'s catalogue remained in manuscript until the year 1800, when the Committee of the House of Commons for inquiring into the Record of the Kingdom, being apprised of its existence, recommended it to be printed without delay. To the utility of this performance, from frequent reference to it, we are happy to add our testimony. Those only who are acquainted with the variety and perplexity of research implied in so intricate a maze of facts, can form any thing like an adequate idea of the diligence and minuteness with which Mr. Planta has executed his catalogue. No bibliographical work, executed by a single person, can be free from imperfections: and our surprise is, not that this volume is thus necessarily in some degree imperfect, but that the errors which can be detected are so few, and so unimportant.

(8.) *Harleian MSS.*†—This noble collection of manuscripts, which are justly celebrated for their number, rarity, and value, was begun towards the close of the seventeenth century by Robert Harley, the first Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; whom an innate love of science, the exemplary attachment of several of his ancestors to literature, and a strong propensity to search into the transactions of former ages, had determined in the early part of his life to purchase whatever curious manuscripts he could meet with, more particularly such as in any degree tended to explain and illustrate the history, laws, customs, and antiquities of England. In less than ten years he had accumulated nearly two thousand five hundred curious and rare manuscripts in different branches of literature: among which were those of several eminent antiquaries and collectors of former times, as well as of many who were his contemporaries, and who further assisted him in procuring MSS. Thus encouraged, the earl of Oxford determined to lose no time in bringing to maturity a design which he had so successfully commenced: and therefore, while he was engaged in the service of the state,

\* Originally it contained nine hundred and fifty-eight volumes.  
† A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum, with Indexes of Persons, Places and Matters. Vols. I.—III. 1808. Vol. IV. 1812. Folio.

he was constantly attentive to the enlargement of his collection; and, after his retirement from public business, spent the remainder of his days, regardless of pecuniary considerations, in unwearied efforts to obtain new accessions to his library, both by the purchase of manuscripts from abroad, and also in procuring correct transcripts of such as were preserved in different national repositories at home. By these means, the manuscript library was, in the year 1721, increased to nearly six thousand books, fourteen thousand original charters, and five hundred rolls. On the decease of the first Earl of Oxford in 1724, his son Edward Lord Harley pursued the same plans; and with incessant assiduity, and at an immense expense, enlarged the collection, so that, on his death in 1741, the manuscript library contained more than ten thousand volumes, besides upwards of forty thousand original rolls, charters with their confirmations, letters patent, grants, and other deeds and instruments of great antiquity, for the most part relating to Great Britain and Ireland.

The great and constant accession of rare manuscripts to the Harleian Library, soon pointed out to its noble possessor the necessity of having a correct catalogue of them compiled. This task was commenced by the celebrated antiquary, Humphrey Wanley; on his death it was continued first by Mr. Casley, and then by Mr. Hocker, deputy keeper of the records in the Tower. What remained, has been lately added by the librarians belonging to this particular department of the Museum. As the portion which had been executed by Messrs. Casley and Hocker, was compiled on a less extensive plan than that of Mr. Wanley, upon the suggestion of the Record Commissioners in 1800, the Trustees of the British Museum engaged the Rev. Robert Nares, then under-librarian of the manuscript department, to revise and correct the latter part of the catalogue. What that gentleman could not accomplish, has been finished by Messrs. Douce and Planta, to whose care the manuscript department was successively confided. The catalogue of the Harleian MSS. now consists of three folio volumes, in which are described 7639 numbers, each of which contains a great number of tracts, forming an aggregate of many thousand articles, embracing every branch of literature. But as these are necessarily miscellaneous in their contents, from the manner in which they were bound when first purchased; in order to render this catalogue beneficial to the public, a fourth volume has been compiled by the Rev. T. H. Horne, comprising (besides indexes of names of persons and places) a bibliographical classification or catalogue of the manuscripts, upon a plan which, with a few modifications, may be advantageously adopted for the arrangement of a large library.

The principal object, which the noble founders of this treasury of learning had in view, was unquestionably the establishment of a manuscript English historical library, and the rescuing from oblivion and destruction such valuable records of our national antiquities as had escaped the diligence of former collectors. Hence it is peculiarly rich in whatever relates to the topographical description of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, their civil and ecclesiastical history and antiquities, ancient statutes, the registers, chartularies, and other evidences of the estates of ancient nobility, books of heraldry, pedigrees, ceremonials, and solemnities. But the views of the founders were not restricted exclusively to these subjects. Among the Harleian MSS. there are ample collections in various branches of literature and science; and this library is singularly rich in Bibles, Evangelistaria (Lessons from the Gospels), and other biblical books, many of which have not been collated; Talmuds, Targums, and other Jewish writings; the works of the Fathers of the Church; liturgies, missals, and other books of religion and devotion; besides many ancient MSS. of Greek and Latin classics and historians; lexicons, dictionaries, and glossaries in most languages; histories and chronicles of various European nations; voyages and travels; works upon civil and naval architecture, ship-building, and military affairs; astronomy, geography, natural history, and agriculture; together with a vast variety of chemical, chirurgical, and medical tracts, works of poetry, musical compositions, illuminations and paintings.

The preceding is a very brief, and necessarily imperfect, outline of the multifarious contents of the Harleian Library, now deposited in the British Museum. We have been induced to offer it, in the hope of making these inestimable treasures better known to the public; the more especially, as every facility of reference is now afforded by the librarians, under the direction of the curators and trustees.

(9.) The **LANSDOWNE MSS.**\*—This valuable collection of manuscripts was purchased in 1807, by a vote of Parliament, of the representatives of the then late Marquis of Lansdowne, for the sum of 4,925*l*. The catalogue of them, which has been published under the direction of the Record Commissioners, consists of two parts. The first division, comprehending the Burleigh MSS., consists chiefly of state papers, interspersed with miscellaneous correspondence, together with the private memorandum book of that upright statesman, the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, during the long reign of Queen Elizabeth. The history of the transmission of these papers is satisfactorily traced

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\* *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum.* London, 1810 folio.

in the preface to this catalogue. The other division contains the papers of Sir Julius Cæsar, relating to the courts of Admiralty, Exchequer, and Star Chamber, in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I.; during which period he successively filled the offices of Judge of the Admiralty, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Master of the Rolls. It also comprises the papers of Dr. Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, relating chiefly to English Ecclesiastical History, the Parliamentary Collections of Mr. Petyt, and a large variety of documents belonging to British history, topography, jurisprudence, coinage, and heraldry, together with treatises by some of the most eminent of our English antiquaries. There are, moreover, several choice classical MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; and in biblical learning the Lansdowne collection possesses two volumes of peculiar interest. One is a fine manuscript of part of the Old Testament in English, as translated by the venerable John Wicliffe; the other is a volume, elegantly written on vellum and illuminated, containing part of a French Bible, translated by Raoul de Presle, or Praelles, at the command of Charles V. King of France; a version of extreme rarity even in that country. The Burleigh papers, with a very large portion of the numbers in the second part of the Lansdowne MSS., were catalogued by Mr. Douce, the late keeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum. The remainder, including the Cæsar and Kennett Papers, &c. together with the revision of the whole of the second part, was made by the present keeper of the MSS.

SECONDLY, the *Original Records*, of which entire copies or abstracts have been printed in England, comprehend some of the most important muniments of its *civil* and *ecclesiastical* history. Among the most important documents of the *civil* history of this country are—

(1.) ITS STATUTES.\*—Of these an authentic edition has been commenced, and six volumes are now completed and published.

The first volume of this truly national and magnificent work contains—1. A copious Introduction, comprising so great a variety of important information relative to the Laws of England, as to claim a distinct notice by itself. This will be found in page 129.—2. The text of the Charters of the Liberties of England, granted by the Kings, Henry I., Ste-

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\* The Statutes of the Realm. Printed by command of his Majesty King George the Third, in pursuance of an Address from the House of Commons of Great Britain, from original records and authentic manuscripts. Vol. I. (edited by Sir T. E. Tomlins, Knt., and John Francis and W. E. Taunton, Esqrs., barristers at law,) 1810. Vols. II. III. (edited by Messrs. Tomlins and Taunton) 1816. Vol. IV. (edited by Sir T. E. Tomlins) 1819. Vols. V. and VI. (edited by John Ruithby, Esq., barrister at law) 1819.

phen, and Henry II., and also the Great Charters of the Forest granted by King John and King Henry III., together with the Charters of Confirmation granted by King Edward I.—3. A Chronological Table of the Statutes, and Instruments illustrating them, which are found in the collection, distinguishing all matters inserted therein, which had not been inserted in every former printed collection of statutes; and specifying the several sources from which every statute and instrument is respectively derived, and the language in which it is written.—4. The Text of the Statutes of Henry III. Edward I. and II., Statutes of uncertain date, and those of Edward III. with notes of various readings where necessary.—5. The common Translation of all matters printed and translated in former collections of the Statutes, with occasional notes of emendation; and also a Translation of matters not translated or inserted in such former collections.

The second volume of the Statutes of the Realm comprises the Statutes from the commencement of the reign of Richard II. to the end of the reign of Henry VII. The third volume is filled with the Statutes of Henry VIII.; the fourth contains the Acts from the beginning of the reign of Edward VI. to the end of the reign of James I.; the fifth, from the commencement of the reign of Charles I. to the end of the thirty-second year of King Charles II.; and the sixth, from the commencement of the reign of James II. to the end of the sixth and seventh years of the reign of King William III. and Queen Mary. A seventh volume, extending to the reign of William III. (we understand) is considerably advanced at the press; and it is proposed, by the addition of two further volumes, to complete the series to the end of the reign of Queen Anne. A series of the sessional acts (that is, of those passed in each session of Parliament) subsequent to the accession of George I., printed by the King's printer, has been collected under the direction of the Record Commissioners, and is now deposited in the British Museum; from which the correct text of those statutes is made accessible to the public, and it is designed that this collection shall be annually completed. In editing the second and subsequent volumes of the Statutes, the acts from the seventh year of Henry VII. downwards are printed from the inrolment on the rolls of parliament in chancery, when the acts are found entered thereon; and, in default of such inrolment, all acts which are contained in any former printed collection of the statutes, are printed from the original bills or acts preserved in the Parliament office, and the variations are noted, except in cases where the printed copies are erroneous, or the variations are wholly unimportant. The whole of the statutes contained in the first and second volumes prior to 7 Henry VII.

are edited conformably to the principles laid down in the elaborate introduction to the first volume, of which we are now to offer a concise notice.

This Introduction is divided into five chapters, in which are discussed the following topics, viz.—1. An Account of all former printed collections, translations, and abridgments of the Statutes, and of the plans heretofore proposed either for an authentic publication, or for the revision of the Statutes.—2. An Account of the Charters prefixed to this collection.—3. An Account of the matters inserted therein; the nature of the several Records and the sources whence the collection has been made, together with the mode pursued in searching for, transcribing, collating, noting, and printing the text of the Statutes.—4. The original language of the Charters and Statutes, and the translation annexed to this authentic edition of them.—5. An Account of the collections of the Statutes of Scotland and Ireland, heretofore published by parliamentary or private authority; together with the methods successively adopted for promulgating the Statutes before and since the union of Great Britain with Ireland.

The earliest printed edition or collection of the Statutes, appears to be an alphabetical abridgment of them, in Latin and French, which is supposed to have been published before the year 1481. The first abridgment of the Statutes in English was printed in 1519. These were followed by a long series of editions both of collections and abridgments, the history of which is very minutely detailed: but notwithstanding the researches of later editors, it should seem that no *complete* collection has ever been printed containing all the matters, which at different times have been printed as statutes. As they were written sometimes in Latin, and sometimes in Norman French, until the commencement of the reign of Henry VII., many errors and inconsistencies occur in all the translations, resulting either from misinterpretation, or from improper omissions or insertions; and in all these editions there are many antient statutes, of which no translation has ever yet been printed.

We are further informed that no complete and *authentic* edition of the Statutes was undertaken by authority, previously to that published under the direction of the Record Commission: nor was the design itself ever suggested simply, and without being connected with other schemes of reformation or improvement. A general revision or rather re-compilation of the Statute Law, appears to have been the measure chiefly recommended in former times, both from the throne, as well as by the two houses of parliament: and it has also been undertaken by several individuals (of whose attempts a minute history is given,) sometimes with, and sometimes without, the



sanction of royal or parliamentary authority; but it has never yet been carried forward to any degree of maturity.

Concerning the matters in this authentic edition of the Statutes, and their arrangement, the editors have furnished the following interesting particulars:

“1. All instruments whatever, comprehended in any of the several collections of statutes printed previous to the edition by [Serjeant] Hawkins [in 1735], are inserted in this work; these having for a long series of years been referred to, and accepted as statutes in courts of law: together with these are inserted all matters of a public nature, purporting to be statutes, first printed by Hawkins or any subsequent editor; and also new matters of the like nature, contained in any statute rolls, inrollments of acts, exemplifications, transcripts by writ, and original acts, although not heretofore printed in any general collection of statutes. All these are placed in the body of the work as text. But it is to be particularly observed, that any decision upon the degree of authority to which any new instrument may be entitled, as being a statute or not, is entirely disclaimed.

“At the foot of the text in each page, there are added such *various readings* as appeared necessary to correct its errors, or to supply its deficiencies; or to reconcile any material contradiction or repugnancy between the text and the translation; or between different copies of the text, where they were of equal or of nearly equal authority. In the earlier reigns, or in the absence of any authentic source for the text, such various readings are noted with much greater freedom than in later times, or where authentic sources exist. Writs and other instruments, having direct or material reference to the several statutes, are occasionally subjoined by way of *notes*. These various readings and instruments are taken from the following sources: inrollments of acts; exemplifications; transcripts by writ; original acts; rolls of parliament; close, patent, fine, and charter rolls; books containing entries of record; ancient books and manuscripts not of record, but preserved in the repositories of courts of justice, and corporation offices; or in the libraries of cathedrals, universities, colleges, or inns of court, and at the British Museum: various readings have been also admitted from the printed editions; occasionally in confirmation of the manuscript sources, and more frequently in cases where those sources have been found deficient.

“Every thing heretofore printed in any former collection of statutes, is in this volume printed in an uniform type; and all new matters, whether various readings, notes, or entire statutes or instruments, are distinguished by a smaller type. The entire matters whether old or new, of which the dates are ascertained, are placed in chronological order; and all, during the reigns of Hen. III. Edw. I. and Edw. II., the dates of which are uncertain, are classed together, after the manner of former editions, at the end of the reign of Edward II.

“A complete enumeration of all matters included in this collection, whether as text or in the notes, is exhibited in a general Chronological Table of Contents prefixed to the body of the statutes;

specifying the source or authority, from whence the text, notes, and various readings are respectively taken.

"2. Other matters of a parliamentary form and character have been recognized at different periods of our history, as appearing to have legislative authority. It has been observed by Lord Coke, that "acts of Parliament are many times in form of charters or letters patent;" and many such have been inserted in all editions of the statutes: and that there are "many acts of parliament that be in the rolls of parliament and never yet printed." In the Report also of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, in the year 1800, upon the subject of the Public Records, it is stated, that many statutes and ordinances in the rolls of parliament are not inserted in the printed statute books; and it is certain that many acts and matters not found on any statute roll, nor contained in any printed editions of the statutes, are found on the parliament rolls, which appear to have received the threefold assent of king, lords, and commons, or to have such qualities, as have been allowed by courts of law to imply that assent.

"With a view therefore to a consideration of the question, whether matters of this nature should be comprehended in the present work, lists of a great number of them were prepared, not only from the parliament rolls, but also from other records, particularly the close rolls and patent rolls, which were examined for the purpose with great care and diligence, and transcripts and collations of many of them were made for the examination of the commissioners. In the progress of this labour, however, it appeared that the matters which came within the description above-mentioned, were so numerous, that the indiscriminate insertion of all of them would constitute a mass, the very bulk of which would prove inconvenient. But, what was of still greater importance, upon examination it became with respect to many of them, a subject of discussion, from which no certain conclusion could be derived, to what extent they had in fact received sanction, and whether therefore they were, in any degree, entitled to be considered as of legislative authority. It was obvious, at the same time, that to have made a selection only of such matters as in the opinion of the commissioners were the least doubtful, was in effect encountering the same difficulty only in a smaller degree; and the sources, from which they were to be taken, not being in themselves conclusive evidence, that the matters contained in them were statutes, the selection in each instance necessarily could be nothing more than the result of private judgment; without the authority of that "general received tradition," which, as Lord Hale observes, attests and approves those statutes which are not properly extant of record.

"Acts also which received the royal assent, and which were entered only on the parliament roll, and not on the statute roll, have been frequently termed ordinances; and various distinctions have ineffectually been attempted to be made between an ordinance and a statute, with regard to the nature and validity of each respectively: but whatever has at any time been written on this subject is contradictory and indistinct; and in the reign of Charles I., the information on this

point, then of some importance, appears to have been very unsatisfactory.

"From these considerations therefore, upon mature deliberation, it has been deemed advisable that this collection should include all such instruments as have been inserted in any general collection of statutes printed previously to the edition by Hawkins; with the addition, only, of such matters of a public nature, purporting to be statutes, as were first introduced by him or subsequent editors, and of such other new matters of the like nature, as could be taken from sources of authority not to be controverted; namely, statute rolls, inrollments of acts, exemplifications, transcripts by writ, and original acts.

"In the 31st year of Henry VIII. the distinction between public acts and private acts is for the first time specifically stated on the inrollment in chancery. No private acts, passed after that date, have been admitted into this collection: it has been thought sufficient to notice them, by the insertion of their titles only. (Report, pp. 98, 99.)

The sources whence the materials have been taken for this collection, are necessarily of a different character and description in different periods of our history. For the purpose of examining all the charters, (of which the completest collection ever printed, is prefixed to the first volume of the authentic Statutes,) as well as authentic copies and entries of them, and also of searching for ancient copies and entries of statutes and instruments not now to be found on the statute-roll, two sub-commissioners were employed, during the summer of 1806, in making a progress through England and Ireland, to every place where it appeared from the returns to the Record Committee of 1800, or from other intelligence, that any such charters, copies, or entries were preserved. From the materials thus procured, and from others previously obtained, transcripts and collections were made and accurately examined by the sub-commissioners. The text of the several charters inserted in the present collection, is most exactly printed from these transcripts. With respect to the Statutes at Large, the materials for the several periods during which no statute rolls, or parliamentary records exist, (and none are known to be extant prior to the statute roll of 6 Edward I,) the materials have been collected from the close, patent, fine, and charter rolls, which are records of chancery, on which copies or extracts of statutes have been entered; or, on failure of these, from other manuscripts not of record, that are preserved in the custody of courts of justice, public libraries, or other public repositories; or, in default of other authority, from the oldest printed editions, in which such matters were inserted.

During the periods, in which statute-rolls or other parliamentary records actually exist, the authentic evidence of the

statutes is derived from the following sources; viz. 1. *Statute-Rolls*.—These are records of chancery of the highest authority, on which were entered the several statutes, when drawn up in form for the purpose of being proclaimed and published; these statutes being framed upon such original petitions to parliament and answers to them, or entries of them on the parliament-rolls, as related to public concerns. The earliest statute-roll, now known to exist, commences with the Statute of Gloucester, 6 Edw. I. A. D. 1278. From that period to 8 Edw. IV. inclusive, A. D. 1468, with an interruption after 8 Hen. VI. to 23 Hen. VI. inclusive, the statutes are preserved in the Tower of London in a regular series. 2. *Inrolments of Acts of Parliament*.—These are records, containing the Acts of Parliament certified and delivered into Chancery. They are preserved in the Chapel of the Rolls, in an uninterrupted series from 1 Rich. III. to the present time, except during the Usurpation. 3. *Exemplifications, and Transcripts by Writ*.—Exemplifications are copies, sent out of chancery, under the King's seal, either to the Sheriffs of counties and cities in England, or to the Lord Chancellor, or Chief Justice of Ireland, for the safe custody, and for the proclaiming or confirming of the statute, or in other cases, for affording authentic evidence of it. Transcripts by Writ are copies, sent into chancery in answer to the king's writ or mandate, calling for a copy of the statute from the officer in whose custody it was preserved. 4. *Original Acts of Parliament*; which are preserved in the Parliament Office from the twelfth year of Henry VII. to the present time, with the exception of a chasm in the fourteenth and fifteenth and the twenty-first years of Henry VIII. 5. *Rolls of Parliament*.—These contain entries of the several transactions in parliament; when complete they include the adjournments, and all other common and daily occurrences and proceedings, from the opening to the close of each parliament, together with the several petitions or bills, and the answers given to them, both in public matters (on which the statute was afterwards framed,) and also on private concerns. 6. *The Close, Patent, Fine, and Charter Rolls*, among a great variety of grants, recognizances, and other miscellaneous matters, concerning the state of the realm and the rights of the crown, which are recorded in them, include entries of statutes and some instruments having direct reference to statutes, in which such statutes are recited at length. From the commencement of the reign of King John to 22 Edw. IV. these rolls are kept at the Tower, and from the reign of Edward V. at the Chapel of the Rolls. 7. *Books of Record*, containing entries of statutes and parliamentary proceedings, are numerous. They are preserved in the Chapter-

House at Westminster, at the Tower, and other depositories of our national muniments. 8. *Manuscripts and Books not of record*, which contain similar entries or copies of statutes, are exceedingly numerous. They are preserved, some in the Town Clerk's Office at the Guildhall of the city of London, but by far the greatest proportion is deposited in the British Museum, the Public Libraries of the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in those of Lintoln's Inn and the Temple, and in many of the libraries or record-rooms of the different cathedrals.

Such are the multifarious sources, whence the materials for the authentic edition of the Statutes of the Realm have been drawn: and in the selection of the text and various readings from them, the editors have judiciously applied those sound principles of criticism which have been so happily employed in editing ancient classics; and the strictest care appears to have been used in order to insure accuracy. We shall conclude our notice of this part of the Record Commissioners' labours with the following passages from that part of the Introduction, which relates to the methods adopted at different periods for the promulgation of the Statutes.

"The promulgation of the statutes, which formerly took place within the realm of England, as well as in Scotland and Ireland, has been wholly superseded by the practice of modern times. Before the introduction of printing, the publication of the statutes of England was made by means of exemplifications thereof, sent to the Sheriffs, under the great seal, out of chancery, with writs annexed, requiring the proclamation and publication of the same by them, and sometimes also directing copies to be made and distributed, and the Sheriffs to return what was done by them thereupon. The earliest statutes were published in this manner; as appears not only by copies of the writs subjoined to the records and manuscripts of the respective statutes, of the thirteenth century, but also by original writs still preserved in the Tower of London.

"In England printed promulgations of the statutes, in the form of sessional publications, began in the first year of Ric. III. AD. 1484, very recently after the introduction of printing; and in consequence thereof such exemplifications and writs as are above-mentioned were soon altogether discontinued; yet the statutes themselves, continued nevertheless to be enrolled in chancery; and some of the earliest sessional publications appear by their form to have been printed from a statute roll. All the original bills and acts now extant in the parliament office, are some years subsequent in date to the commencement of the printed sessional publications of the statutes; and it is evident, from some of those printed sessional publications in the time of Hen. VII. whereof the contemporary bills and acts are still preserved, that such bills and acts, though concurrent in time were not then uniformly used as the original text for such publications. The sessional publi-

cations are at present, and have for a long series of years been printed entirely from original acts in the parliament office.

"In Scotland it was the exclusive privilege and official duty of the Lord Clerk Register to enter the acts of parliament in the proper record, and to give authentic copies of them to the sheriffs, magistrates of boroughs, and such as might demand them. The earliest printed publication of statutes in Scotland took place in the year 1540-1.

"In Ireland the promulgation of such statutes as were passed in England and transmitted to Ireland, was regularly made by means of a transcript sent under seal from England, with a writ directed to the Chancellor of Ireland, requiring the same to be kept in the chancery of that kingdom, to be enrolled in the rolls of the said chancery, then to be exemplified under the great seal of Ireland, and sent unto and proclaimed in the several courts and counties throughout the kingdom. Sometimes the writ was to the justices, in Ireland, simply requiring proclamation. With respect to the statutes made in Ireland, provisions are contained in several acts for the special proclamation of such acts, so that the penalties inflicted by them should not be incurred until after such proclamation. It appears also that it was usual to proclaim the statutes in general by the king's writ, made out by the clerk of the parliament. Sessional publications of the acts did not take place in Ireland before the reign of Charles I.; and such publications were not continued regularly and uniformly until after the Revolution.

"In Great Britain the public inconvenience experienced from the defective promulgation of the statutes, led to the adoption of new measures in the year 1796; by which, the acts printed by the king's printer, whose authority has been long deemed sufficient to entitle his printed copies to be received in evidence, in all courts of law, were distributed throughout the kingdom as speedily as possible after they had received the royal assent: and the experience of the good effects of those measures led soon afterwards to their execution in a much greater extent." (Report, pp. 107, 108.)

Since the union of Great Britain and Ireland, in consequence of an address to his late Majesty from both Houses of Parliament, the king's printer is

"Authorised and directed to print not less than five thousand five hundred copies of every public general act, and three hundred copies of such local and personal acts as are printed; the public general acts to be transmitted, as soon as possible after each bill should receive the royal assent, to the members of both Houses of Parliament, the great offices and departments of state, public libraries, courts of justice, sheriffs, municipal magistrates, and resident acting justices of the peace, throughout Great Britain and Ireland; according to a prescribed mode of distribution, with a direction that every chief magistrate and head officer of every city, borough, or town corporate in England and Ireland, and of every royal burgh in Scotland, and every sheriff, clerk of the peace, and town clerk in the United King-

dom, receiving such copies, should preserve them for the public use, and transmit them to his successor in office: and this mode of authenticating and promulgating the statutes is now carried into execution, throughout every part of the United Kingdom." (Report, p. 108.)

(2.) JOURNALS AND REPORTS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The Journals contain a vast mass of information both to the historian and the legislator. They commence in the year 1547, and conclude with the year 1800, and with their respective indexes, form sixty-one volumes, which have been reprinted in conformity with an address from the House of Commons to his late Majesty in 1803.\* The Reports, from the year 1715 to the year 1800, fill fifteen folio volumes. They are arranged according to subjects, and comprehend a large and valuable mass of information concerning matters of state policy, foreign, domestic, and colonial, not included in the body of the Journals. These Reports comprise many of considerable importance, respecting the ecclesiastical, naval and military concerns of the British empire, its Finances, Agriculture, Trade, and Commerce, the encouragement of its Fisheries, the improvement of Roads, establishment of Charities, maintenance of the Poor, and various discoveries or inventions of public utility. To each of these volumes of Reports a particular index has been provided, and also a very minute general index to the whole collection.

(3.) RYMER'S FœDERA.—The great collection of documents, thus entitled, was originally published, in seventeen folio volumes, at different times, between the years 1704 and 1707. This truly national work was commenced by Mr. Thomas Rymer, historiographer royal, who, in 1693, was empowered, by a warrant from Queen Mary, to examine all the various repositories of public records, and to transcribe and publish all the leagues, treaties, alliances, capitulations, and confederacies, which have at any time been made between the crown of England and any other kingdoms, princes, and states. This authority was renewed by Queen Anne, in 1707, when Mr. Robert Sanderson (whom Rymer had employed as an assistant at an early period of the undertaking) was included in the royal warrant. The first fourteen volumes, comprising Treaties, &c. from A. D. 1101 to A. D. 1543, were published during the life-time of Mr. Rymer. The fifteenth and sixteenth he left prepared for the press, which, with the seventeenth (including State Papers from 1543 to 1625), were published by Mr. Sanderson between the years 1713 and 1717. A second

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\* The Journals of the House of Commons, from the year 1800 to the present time, have been printed in twenty volumes, and are now daily continued in pursuance of a vote of the House, passed at the commencement of each Session.

edition of the *Fœdera* was published at London, 1727—1735, with three new volumes, under the editorship of Mr. Holmes, keeper of the records in the Tower (who superintended the first twelve volumes) and of Mr. Sanderson, who had the charge of the remaining eight. A third edition, in ten volumes folio, was undertaken at the Hague in 1738 or 1739, and completed in 1745, with considerable elegance, on a much smaller letter than either of the preceding editions. Though each of the latter impressions contains some improvements upon the first, yet it has long been known that very many important documents were omitted. The attention, therefore, of the Record Commission, was early directed to the supplying of this defect: and, after considerable inquiry, they found a suitable editor in the Rev. Adam Clarke, L. L. D. This gentleman, having carefully explored the different repositories of our national records, between the years 1808 and 1812, at length submitted a plan to the Commissioners, for a new and greatly enlarged edition of the *Fœdera*,\* which has been adopted. The first volume, in two parts, and the first part of the second volume, have been printed and published, comprehending the period from the Conquest to the end of the reign of Edward II. with engraved fac-similes of some of the most important instruments of each reign, and the seals of each sovereign. A general introduction is prefixed to the first volume (whence we have abridged the above particulars), explaining the origin and progress of the work, as originally undertaken by Rymer; the materials of which it was composed, and the sources from which they were derived; the comparative merits of the preceding different editions, and the grounds upon which a further edition was deemed necessary. Of the value and great importance of this new impression, our readers will be enabled to form some idea, when we state that, besides carefully revising all the papers formerly printed, and comparing the most important with the originals, Dr. Clarke and his assistant, Mr. F. Holbrooke, have extended the limits of the *Fœdera* to an earlier as well as later period of time. The work now commences at the important era of the Norman Conquest, A. D. 1066, instead of A. D. 1100, the accession of Henry I., which forms no remarkable period in our history, nor is distinguished by any transaction of consequence in the British annals: and not fewer than *six hundred* new articles have been added in the first volume alone, under the different reigns, all of which are either important in themselves, or necessary as connecting

\* Vol. I. part I. 1816. •Part II. 1816. Vol. II. part I. 1818. The second part of Vol. II, is considerably advanced at the press.



links to complete the history of state transactions for the times to which they refer. The typographical arrangement has also been improved very materially; and the chronological order, which was extremely defective in all the former editions, is now, with great care and labour, reduced to consistency and order. The very copious chronological table prefixed to each volume, displays, at one view, the extent of the additions which have been made to the original work; and also states the repositories in which the original of each instrument is still preserved, or the authority upon which it has been inserted, so far as it has been practicable to ascertain the same.

(4.) *THE ROTULI SCOTIÆ*, in the Tower of London, constitute an important collection of records, illustrative of the political transactions between England and Scotland, from the nineteenth year of Edward I. to the eighth year of Henry VIII. An abstract of them was published in two folio volumes, of which our readers will find an analysis in the fourteenth volume of this journal, pp. 378—380.

(5.) *ABBREVIATIO PLACITORUM*.\*—This work was printed under the immediate direction and revision of the late Right Hon. George Rose, from several volumes of abstracts of pleadings preserved in the Chapter-house at Westminster, during the reigns of Richard I., John, Henry III., and Edward I. and II.; which abstracts were made from the original pleadings by Mr. Arthur Agard, and other keepers of such records during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They comprise much important matter relating to petitions of right, and also to the parliament and *concilium Regis*, besides very many curious and interesting particulars concerning the law, history, and customs of the country, especially the preservation of the records of the kingdom during the turbulent part of the reign of Edward the Second, and the functions of juries. Jurors, it appears, were often required by the court, which they were summoned to attend, to state the reason for their verdict. Special verdicts were not unfrequent, and in cases of attainr they were frequently called in question, reviewed, corrected, and set aside.

(6.) *TESTA DE NEVILL*.†—Two ancient books, thus entitled, are preserved in the King's Remembrancer's Office of the Court of Exchequer. They appear to have been compiled towards the close of the reign of Edward II., or early in that of Edward III., partly from inquests taken on the presentments of jurors of hundreds before the justices itinerant, and partly from inqui-

\* *Placitorum in Domo Capitulari Westmonasterii asservatorum Abbreviatio*, temporibus Ric. I. Johannis, Hen. III. Edw. I. et Edw. II. 1811, folio.

† *Testa de Nevill, sive Liber Feodorum in Curia Saeculari temporibus Regum Hen. III. et Edw. I. 1807, folio.*

sitions upon writs awarded to the sheriffs for collecting scutages, aids, &c. These books contain principally an account of fees, held immediately of the King, or of others who held of the King in capite, whether they had been alienated or not, and their respective values; of serjeanties holden of the King, distinguishing such as were rented or alienated, together with their values; of widows and heiresses of tenants in capite, whose marriages were in the King's gift, and the value of their lands; of churches in the royal gift, and in whose hands they were; of escheats, whether of the lands of Normans or of other persons, in whose hands they were, and by what services they were held; and finally, of the amount of the sums paid by each tenant for scutage, aids, &c.

(7.) HUNDRED ROLLS.\*—These records are deposited partly in the Tower of London, and partly in the Chapter House at Westminster, and belong to the reigns of Henry III. and Edward I. As the revenues of the crown had been considerably diminished under various pretexts, and numerous abuses and exactions had also been committed against the people during the turbulent reign of Henry III., King Edward I. shortly after his accession instituted an inquiry into these offences; and as the circuit of the justices itinerant (who generally went but once in seven years) would not return till the sixth year of his reign, he issued a special commission under the Great Seal, in the 2d year of his reign, authorising certain officers to inquire into the abuses above noticed. After the commissioners had, in the third year, returned their rolls of inquisitions, it was necessary for the Court of Exchequer to have in one view such parts of the returns as affected the rights of the crown and the malpractices of its officers. The requisite extracts were accordingly made in certain rolls, from which the crown was furnished, among other things, with evidence upon oath of a jury of each hundred (whence the name of *Hundred Rolls* is derived) and town in every county, stating all the demesne lands of the crown, what manors, &c. formerly in the hands of the sovereign, were then in the possession of other persons, and how they were alienated; accounts of tenants in capite and in ancient demesne, and of the losses of military services, &c. sustained by the crown in consequence of sub-infeudations granted by such tenants in capite, alienations to the church, under the pretext of gifts in frankalmoigne, oppressions and exactions of various kinds by

\* Rotuli Hundredorum temporibus Henrici III. et Edwardi I. in Turri Londinensi et in Curia Receptæ Scaccarii Westmonasterii asservati. Vol. I. 1812. Vol. II. 1818, folio.

the nobility, clergy, sheriffs, and other officers, under colour of law.

The Statute of Gloucester was passed in the sixth year of the reign of Edward I., and the first chapter of it, which relates to franchises, liberties, and quo warranto, was founded on the previous inquiries made under this commission. Immediately after the passing of this statute, the stated period of the circuit in eyre returned; and on the justices going their iter, writs of right and quo warranto were issued very generally against such persons as claimed manors, liberties, &c. where the jurors had previously said upon oath before the inquisitors in 3 Edward I. '*Nesciunt quo warranto*,' the parties held or claimed, and also where they said that the party held or claimed *sine warranto*. The pleadings before these justices are entered on certain rolls, preserved in the chapter-house at Westminster, which are denominated *Quo Warranto Rolls*.

Two volumes of the Hundred Rolls for the period above noticed, and one volume of the Quo Warranto Rolls, during the reigns of Edward I. II. and III. have been printed: and their great importance and utility are strongly proved by the frequent references in courts of law to these pleadings, upon questions arising, in modern times, respecting boundaries, franchises, descents of manors or advowsons, and rights claimed under royal charters by lay and ecclesiastical person. Many obscure passages and obsolete words in charters are repeatedly explained; and much learning, illustrative of the laws and customs of the country, both useful and interesting to the lawyer and the antiquary, will be found dispersed through these works.

The *Ecclesiastical Records*, which have been collected and printed, are the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., in the reign of Edward I., the Inquisitiones Nonarum in that of Edward III., and the valuation of dignities and benefices made by the authority of Henry VIII.

(1.) TAXATION OF POPE NICHOLAS IV.\*—In the year 1253 this Pontiff granted to King Henry III. for three years, the first-fruits and tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices, which had for a long time been paid to his predecessors in the See of Rome. In consequence of this grant, a survey or taxation of them was made in the following year. The same Pope, in 1288, granted the tenths to Edward I. for three years, to defray the expense of an expedition to the Holy Land: and, in order that they might be collected to their full value, a taxation was commenced in that year, and finished in 1292. And a third taxa-

\* *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliæ et Walliæ, Auctoritate P. Nicolai IV. circa A.D. 1253. 1288, folio.*

tion of part of the province of York was made in 1318, on account of the invasion of the Scots, by which the clergy of the border counties were rendered unable to pay the former tax.

The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. is a most important record, because all the taxes, both to our Kings and to the Popes, were regulated by it, until the survey made 26 Henry VIII.; and also because the statutes of such colleges, as were founded before the Reformation, are interpreted by this criterion, according to which their benefices under a certain value are exempted from the restriction concerning pluralities in the statute of 21 Henry VIII.

(2.) *NONÆ ROLLS.*\*—By the 14 Edward III, stat. 1. c. 20, a grant was made to that monarch of a subsidy of the ninth lamb, ninth fleece, and ninth sheaf, to be taken for two years then next to come, and of the ninth of the goods and chattels of cities and boroughs, and of a fifteenth of the effects of merchants and others not dwelling in cities or boroughs; and by stat. 2. of the same year it was enacted that this grant should not become a precedent. Accordingly, assessors and *venditors* were appointed for every county, who were to assess and sell the ninth and fifteenth. This was afterwards executed, upon the oath of the inhabitants of every parish, according to the taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. above noticed; whence it should seem that the assessors were, in 1340, to consider the *ninth* of corn, wool, and lambs, of the same value as the *tenth* of corn and all other titheable commodities, and the glebe lands were, when the papal valuation was made in 1292. Where the amount of such *ninth* was less than the papal taxation, the cause of such deficiency was specially entered in these *Rolls*, which are commonly termed the *Nonæ Rolls*. It further appears that the ninth was at first attempted to be sold for more than the papal valuation, then for as much as the tax, and afterwards for the real and true value, whether more or less than the ancient tax.

(3.) *VALUATION OF ECCLESIASTICAL BENEFICES, in the Reign of Henry VIII.*†—This ecclesiastical survey was made in pursuance of the statute of 26 Henry VIII. c. 3, which transferred to the crown the *first-fruits* (or profits of every spiritual living for one year), and the *tenths* (or tenth part of the yearly value of such living), which had before been paid to the Pope. This act of parliament enjoined the lord chancellor, bishops, and other commissioners to inquire into the value of every ecclesiastical

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\* *Nonarum Inquisitiones, in Curia Scaccarii, tempore Regis Edwardi III. 1807. folio.*

† *Valor Ecclesiasticus tempore Henrici VIII., auctoritate regis institutus. Vol. I. 1810. Vol. II. 1814. Vol. III. 1817. folio.*

benefice and preferment in the several dioceses of England and Wales. The returns made by them fill many volumes and rolls, which have been deposited in the Office of First-fruits and Tenths, from the reign of Henry VIII. to the present time: and according to the valuation in these returns, incumbents now pay their respective first-fruits and tenths, which form the perpetual fund for the augmentation of poor livings under the annual value of 50*l.*, known under the name of Queen Anne's Bounty. Of this important Record three volumes have been printed, and two others will complete it: and preparations are making for a general index to the whole, exhibiting alphabetically—1. All ecclesiastical jurisdictions of dioceses, archdeaconries, and deaneries, with the benefices situated within their respective limits;—and 2. The religious houses, with their several possessions. Several of the original rolls, which were in a state of great decay, have been repaired and bound under the direction of the Record Commission; and the rolls have also been repaired, where it was necessary, and put into tin cases for their better preservation.

The Records belonging to Scotland, though less numerous than those of England, have not escaped the attention of the Commissioners on the public records of the realm; and, under their direction, three works have been printed, which throw much light on the history and descents of property in that country.

(1.) ABRIDGMENT OF RETOURS.\*—By the law of Scotland, on the death of a person, the complete and effective right to his landed property does not immediately pass from the ancestor to the heir, but is said to remain *in hereditate jacente* of the deceased owner, until the claim of the heir has been formally recognized and established under a *brieve* or writ of *succession*. By that writ the judge, to whom it is directed, is required to ascertain by the verdict of a jury, of what lands and annual rents, together with their value, the alleged ancestor of the claimant died seised; whether the claimant be the nearest legal heir, and of lawful age; of whom, as feudal superior, and by what feudal tenure, such lands are held; and in whose possession they now are, on what account, and how long they have been so possessed. The proceedings in pursuance of a *brieve* of *succession* are, in Scotland, denominated a *service*; and the verdict of the jury given by virtue of them is transmitted, together with the writ itself, into Chancery, where it is entered on record. An extract of that record is given to the claimant; and, in this complete

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\* *Inquisitionum ad capellam Domini Regis retornatarum, quæ in publicis archivis Scotiæ adhuc servantur.* Vols. I. II. 1811. Vol. III. 1816. folio.

state, it is commonly termed the "*Retour of the Service.*" Of these original records, or retours, an abridgment has been published, from 1546 to 1700, in three volumes: like the *Inquisitiones post Mortem* in England, they are of the greatest value in tracing the descents and successions to property.

(2.) The REGISTRUM MAGNI SIGILLI REGUM SCOTORUM, forms part of an intended collection of select charters, granted by the Kings of Scotland, though it is a complete work in itself. This register comprises a series of charters, issued between the years 1306 and 1424.

(3.) Of the ACTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND, the second, third, fourth, and fifth volumes have been published; and the printing of the sixth volume is considerably advanced. But, in consequence of the difficulties attending the collection of materials during the earlier periods of Scottish history, and their chronological arrangement, the publication of the first volume is necessarily delayed. The editing of these important documents has been conducted with the same care and attention which (we have already noticed) were bestowed on the English Statutes at Large.

It is not the intention of the Record Commissioners to direct the printing of any other works beyond those already enumerated, and the number of copies actually printed has very properly been limited by their relative importance. Of the most costly works, therefore,—such as the Statutes at Large, (where the principal object was to secure a correct text to which private editors might afterwards resort,) the impression does not exceed five hundred copies. Of such others as were not likely to be in general request, however moderate the expense might be, the impression is limited to one thousand; and although, in some few instances, a sufficient number was printed to supply both Houses of Parliament, yet, of late, it has been deemed advisable that the number shall in no case exceed one thousand. But, in order that these various publications may be generally distributed for the public use and convenience, copies have been delivered to all the principal public libraries and repositories, both civil and ecclesiastical, throughout the United Kingdom, according to a list approved by the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury. And all the surplus stock (with the exception of a very limited reserve for the Record Commissioners, and the persons necessarily employed as sub-commissioners, &c. under them,) has been put into a course of gradual sale by authority of the Treasury, for the twofold purpose of placing these publications within the reach of all persons who may be desirous of possessing them, and also of liquidating in part the necessary expenses of the commission, by applying

the proceeds in reduction of the annual provision made by parliamentary grant.

Our analysis of the proceedings of the British Record Commission has been so copious, as to leave but little room for noticing similar proceedings in Ireland. As nothing has hitherto been printed, (though an authentic edition of the Irish Statutes and other national works are preparing,) it may suffice to state that a Commission was issued for that country in 1810; and that, under its authority, the Commissioners have already completed many important measures, and that more are in progress, for the better arrangement and preservation of the Irish Records, and for placing *persons of competent knowledge* in the various record offices. To this last and most necessary qualification, the English Commissioners very early directed their attention; and they state (what our readers will doubtless peruse with much satisfaction) that their views have been very materially assisted by the liberality of the public officers in several departments, and by the office of keeper of the records in the Chapter-house at Westminster having been conferred by his Majesty's Government, as a reward for distinguished merit in this class of learning.

We cannot conclude this article, without adverting to the manner in which the various works above noticed have been executed by his Majesty's printers, under the Record Commission, particularly the Authentic Edition of the Statutes, the *Fœdera*, and the Reports of that Commission which have been the subject of this article. Whether we regard the texture of the paper, the accuracy and fidelity of the letter-press, with its innumerable contractions, the colour of the ink, the arrangement of the pages, or the number, variety, and difficulty of the engravings,—the typographical splendour of the whole is such as reflects the highest credit on the individuals who respectively executed them, and will be a perpetual memorial of the munificence of the Legislature, as well as of the learning and judgment of the Right Honourable Commissioners, who directed these various works to be undertaken, and who superintended them with unceasing vigilance until they were completed.

ART. VIII.—*The Life of William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, compiled principally from original and scarce Documents; with an Appendix, containing Fur Prædestinatus, Modern Policies, and Three Sermons by Archbishop Sancroft: also, the Life of the learned Henry Wharton; and Two Letters of Dr. Sanderson, now first published from the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth Palace.* By George D'Oyly, D.D. F.R.S. 2 vols. 8vo. Murray. London, 1821.

WITH no small labour of investigation and research, Dr. D'Oyly has collected for the public a very interesting and instructive life of Archbishop Sancroft,—a man living through a period of greater political agitation than any in the internal history of this country, and nearly as much concerned as any subject of these realms in the great events of that period. He who, from an obscure station, could raise himself by the simple recommendation of his personal qualities, without the smallest effort of ambition on his own part, or of patronage or power on the part of others, to the highest ecclesiastical distinction in the state, has established a just title to the memory and the homage of after ages. What may confer a right to the appellation of great is a question which will be variously answered according to the different opinions entertained of the import of the term, and of the comparative value of moral attributes; but it will not be disputed that Archbishop Sancroft was a person of an extraordinary mind, if we consider only the courage and constancy with which he withstood the extremes of opposite factions and principles, maintaining, through a long public life, his magnanimous moderation, at whatever cost of revenue, repose, or preferment.

This distinguished prelate was too considerable an actor in some of the great scenes of our political drama to be forgotten; but with respect to his personal and individual merits, and all that more specially marked and discriminated his character, we seem indebted to Dr. D'Oyly for arresting them, in their rapid course to that receptacle of unregistered things where many a name and example of British story is left to moulder in oblivion. The sources from which he has drawn his information have been, in part, such as have in different shapes passed through the press, and in part unpublished documents. Those of the former description are the life of the Archbishop in the *Biographia Britannica*; the short account of him prefixed to his three sermons, and to his familiar letters; Leneve's *Lives of the Protestant Archbishops of Canterbury*;



and Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops, from the Restoration to the Revolution. He has consulted also, with reference to the public parts of the Archbishop's life, "the histories, memorials, and different pamphlets, relating to the transactions of the times in which he lived. The unpublished documents, from which his materials have principally been derived, are, 1st, the MSS. in the Lambeth MS. library, which consist of some public letters addressed to the Archbishop, collections made by him, and a few juvenile performances; 2dly, the MSS. in the British Museum, where, in the Harleian collection there repositied, are three large volumes of letters addressed to the Archbishop at different periods of his life, from which Dr. D'Oyly has collected several facts and dates relating to his private history. We are informed, also, that among the same MSS. are twelve volumes of miscellaneous collections made by the Archbishop, with occasional marginal notes in his handwriting: and in Dr. Ayscough's catalogue, among the papers left by Dr. Birch, are several documents relating to the Archbishop's private history." In the third place, it appears in the preface, from which we have copied the preceding particulars, that the author found the greatest proportion of his materials in the Bodleian library at Oxford, where is lodged the bulk of Archbishop Sancroft's papers, comprising a very valuable mass of historical documents and materials, having been purchased by Bishop Tanner, and presented by him to that library. "They contain, relating to the private history of the Archbishop, copies of many of his letters in his own hand writing; several of his common-place books; his thoughts on different matters of public business; and details respecting some of the remarkable transactions in which he was engaged; particularly a narrative of all that took place at the interviews of himself and the other prelates with King James, previous to their trial, and at the time of the Prince of Orange's invasion. In addition to which sources of information, the author has collected some materials from the MSS. of the Rev. T. Baker, at Cambridge, from documents in Emanuel College, and from some private papers of the Sancroft family, in the possession of the Rev. J. Holmes, the present possessor of the property which belonged to the family."

From these scattered sources Dr. D'Oyly has succeeded in compiling a very pleasing memoir of this distinguished prelate: and we are farther indebted to him for some clear relations of historical transactions of the most important political and constitutional results. The biographer sets out with a detail as circumstantial as the genealogist could desire, of the origin, descent, inheritance, name, and arms of the family of Sancroft:

but our readers must be content to hear from us, that the subject of this narrative was born at Fresingfield, in the county of Suffolk, January 30, 1616-17; that he was the eldest of two sons and six daughters, the children of Francis Sancroft, by Margaret his wife, the daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Butcher, or Boucher; and that the family of Sancroft was of considerable antiquity, having been settled at Fresingfield, and possessed property there from the time of Henry III. or Edward I. Having received his first education at Bury, he was sent, at the age of eighteen, to Emanuel College in Cambridge, of which College his uncle, Dr. William Sancroft, was at that time master. His tutor was Mr. Ezekiel Wright, afterwards rector of Thurcastle, to whom he always bore a particular regard, and expressed, in the warmest terms, his obligations for assistance and advice in his studies and pursuits. The memorials of his early career are but scanty; but enough is upon record to show, that it was marked by success in literary and general attainments, as well as by a seriousness of character and early principles of piety and virtue. He took the degree of Master of Arts, and entered into the ministerial office in the year 1641; on which latter occasion he thus expresses himself in a letter to his father, dated Sept. 10 in the same year: "I have lately offered up to God the first fruits of that calling which I intend, having common-placed twice in the chapel; and if, through your prayers, and God's blessing on my endeavours, I may become an instrument in any measure fitted to bear his name before his people, it shall be my joy, and the crown of my rejoicing in the Lord; and, therefore, if God lends me life and abilities, I shall be willing to spend myself, and be spent upon the work." He succeeded to a fellowship of Emanuel College in 1642; and we have upon this occasion an early indication of that extreme tenderness of conscience which made him, in the sequel, one of the most decided and pertinacious of those who refused to qualify under King William by taking the new oath of allegiance. His doubt was whether, as by the statutes of the College no one could be elected fellow who had an estate of 20*l.* per annum, he could safely be joined with his father in a trust, which would require him to hold property above that value, though without any beneficial interest in the estate.

We are informed that Mr. Sancroft addicted himself, for many years, with close application, to various branches of study; but from such specimens as are preserved of his academical proficiency, we should judge him not to have gotten the start of his contemporaries by any marked superiority. He appears to have imbibed a considerable tincture of the bad taste pre-

valent during the period of his first studies. It is probable, however, that the solidity and firmness of his character, for which he was so remarkable, made him an early object of attention and distinction. It was Mr. Sancroft's fate to make his entrance into public life at an ill-omened period. In the year after he had obtained his fellowship, 1643, the kingdoms of England and Scotland entered into the celebrated contract so well known by the name of the *Covenant*, which having been first ratified in Scotland, by commissioners sent from the English parliament, was afterwards forwarded to London, and immediately taken by both houses of parliament. It is well known by what pains and deprivations this obligation was enforced through the realm, and that great numbers were ejected from their fellowships in both universities, on account of their declining or neglecting to bind themselves by the oath by which this insidious contract was attempted to be imposed upon their consciences. Dr. Holdsworth, the master of Emanuel College, the particular friend of Mr. Sancroft, and the first promoter of his advancement in life, was among the persons sacrificed to the resentment of the parliamentary party. He was seized and thrown into prison, where he continued four years, for licensing the King's books, and getting his declarations printed, by his authority as Vice-chancellor of the University. The letter which was written to him by Mr. Sancroft, soon after this event, while it is strongly characteristic of his peculiarity of style, is a specimen of his firm temper, and conscientious fidelity.

“ ‘ MUCH HONOUR'D SIR,

“ ‘ AND STILL OUR WORTHY MASTER,

“ ‘ I have formerly troubled you with my desires, and they met with acceptance from you. I hope I may now take leave to sigh out my griefs before you, and pour my sorrow into your bosom. You have not thought good, as yet, to give a check to my former impertinencies, and so I dare be confident, your goodness will be a sanctuary for this offence too, which yet, if it must be called so, is no other than an offence of love, or if that be too bold a word, of deepest regard and respect to you. We live in an age in which to speak freely is dangerous, imò nec gemere tuto licet; faces are scanned, and looks are construed, and gestures are put upon the rack and made to confess something which may undo the actor; and, though the title be liberty, written in foot and half-foot letters upon the front, yet within there is nothing but perfect slavery, worse than Russian. Woe worth a heart then oppressed with grief in such a conjuncture of time as this. Fears and complaints, you know, are the only kindly and gentle evaporations of burthened spirits, and if we must be bereaved of this sad comfort too, what else is left us but either to whisper our griefs to one another in secret, or else to sit

down and sink under the burthen of them? I do not *para-tragædiare*; nor is my grief so ambitious as to raise fluctum in scrupulo. You know, I dare say, what it is that must needs make me cry out, since it touched me in the tenderest part of my soul. We live in times that have, of late, been fatal in abating of heads: proud Tarquin's riddle is now fully understood; we know too well what it is *summa papaverum capita demere*. But I had not thought they would have beheaded whole colleges at a blow; nay, whole universities and whole churches too; they have outdone their pattern in that, and it is an experiment in the mastery of ~~erectly~~ far beyond Caligula's wish. Ah! Sir, I know our Emanuel College is now an object of pity and commiseration; they have left us like John Baptist's trunk when his head was lopped off, because of a vow or oath (or covenant if you will) that went before, or like Pompey's carcase upon the shore; *so stat magni nominis umbra*.—For my part, *tædet me vivere hanc mortem*—a small matter would prevail with me to take up the resolution to go forth any whither where I might not hear *nec nomen nec facta Pelopidarum*. Nor need we voluntarily give up our stations; I fear we cannot long maintain them. And what then? shall I lift up my hand? I will cut it off first. Shall I subscribe my name? I will forget it as soon. I can at least look up through this mist and see the hand of my God holding the scourge that lashes, and with this thought I am able to silence all the mutinies of boisterous passions, and to charm them into a perfect calm. Sir, you will pardon this disjointed piece, it is the production of a disquieted mind, and no wonder if the child resembles its parent; my sorrow, as yet, breaks forth only in abrupt sighs and broken sobs." (P. 30—32.)

When the use of the liturgy was prohibited, and the directory substituted in its place, by the authority of the assembly of divines, Mr. Sancroft's constancy in adhering to his scruples, was submitted to an additional test, as he was in holy orders, and though not called upon to officiate in churches, was required to attend, and occasionally to perform, divine service in the chapel of his college.

A letter written by him to a friend of a more complying temper on this subject, is every way creditable to his principles and his judgment.

*" William Sancroft to Mr. Richard Weller.*

*" Dated Emanuel College, May 26, 1645.*

" 'To begin with your first caution; assure yourself, sweet Sir, the epidemical distempers of the age do not (too much) possess my mind. nor do I lay them to heart, so as to endanger my constitution, weak though it be. But yet I must acknowledge I do not, I cannot, look upon this bleeding kingdom, this dying church, with the same indifference as I would read the history of Japan, or hear the affairs of China related. I cannot consider a scattered and broken university with as reposed a spirit, as I would behold a tragedy presented on a stage, or view some sad picture in a gallery. I thank my God, who hath

given me so tranquil and calm a spirit, as I do neither fret impatiently, nor cowardly despair. But yet I know full well that 'twere a grand mistake to practise a dull inapprehensiveness, instead of a generous patience. A stoical stupidity is far enough removed from an heroic constancy; and that sour sect, who sought to bereave us of the one half of ourselves, and to free us, shall I say, or rob us, of our passions and affections, are so far from making a wise man or a Christian, that they have only raised a statue. To say no more, Sir, your spur was here more needful than your bridle; and, perhaps, a friendly jog to awaken me to a greater degree of solicitude had been more seasonable, than your dose of opium to charm my sorrows and lullaby my cares, which I fear will rather be found on this side the due proportion than beyond it. I am all thankfulness for your loving care and pains in answering my query; and do but still vouchsafe to continue this your affectionate readiness, and your counsel shall always be my better directory. You are pleased to slice my doubt into a double scruple. Whether I may lay aside the one, whether I may take up the other? For the first, your maxim is, that no law obligeth to a positive obedience where the legislative power doth not protect. I think you and I shall hardly be two in this particular. Nor do I count myself obliged to go to chapel and read common prayer till my brains be dashed out. But yet, if laws are binding no longer than till inconveniencies accrue to the observer, I am at this present time free from the tie of all the laws of England, and may do whatever is good in mine own eyes: because they, in whom the legislative power is seated, being split into two opposite factions, there is no security left; for, whom one side protects the other threatens. And if the endangering of estate or liberty to be taken away by violence of a prevailing party be sufficient to absolve us from our obedience, what are your thoughts of those, whose memories are now so precious, who stood up resolutely against ship-money and illegal taxes, and for not paying perhaps 20% endangered their whole inheritance? Or, to look into that other sphere of the church, of those who, in the days of innovation and illegal encroachments, kept close to canon and rubric, maugre all the suspensions and deprivations in the diocese.

“ ‘ But for the second, your conclusion is, that I may cheerfully, nay that I am tied, to conform to the new model. And why I pray? 1. Because I am bound to do my ultimum quod sit for the glory of God. 2. Because I am bound, by my place, to read the Scriptures and pray. First for your conclusion, then for your arguments. And truly that cheerfulness in complying which you seem to require of me is much abated by these considerations, which, to my weakness, appear to carry some weight in them: 1. Because to comply would be a tacit consent to that extravagant power which the two Houses now first challenge (having before disclaimed it,) of repealing acts of parliament by ordinance, which opens a wide gap to all manner of arbitrariness: for, if they may in some cases annul laws, and they themselves be the judges of those cases, we are not sure that one law shall stand. And yet that protestation which both you and I took, binds us, with our power and estate, nay, with our lives, to maintain and

defend the lawful rights and liberties of the subject; the chiefest part of whose birthright it is, as I apprehend it, to be free from illegal impositions. But 2dly, to comply, would be to throw a foul aspersion on the whole church of God in England, since the Reformation; as if the public worship of God here used, which, for aught I know, was the most complete piece which any church upon earth had, were unlawful and anti-christian, or, at least, in the highest degree inconvenient. For such language the Preface to your Directory speaks, and thereupon infers an absolute necessity of removing it. Now thus to cast up dirt in my mother's face, and kick out her Liturgy as an abominable thing, which hath so long been made good against all the noise and clamour of weak opposites, is an exploit, I confess, which I cannot look upon with any such complacency, as to undertake it with an extraordinary measure of cheerfulness or alacrity. And, 3dly, to comply would be to set to my seal that the Houses have power to reform religion without the supreme magistrate; that their journeymen of the synod are lawfully convened: the truth of which, I confess, I cannot so clearly see, no not with the help of a synodical pair of spectacles. And, while my apprehensions are thus planted, be you judge how much it would be for the glory of God, for me thus to run counter to the dictates of my conscience, which is God's voice in my soul, and to me as binding. I am bound, 'tis true, by the statute, shall I say, or rather the custom of the college, to read prayers in my course; but I am bound by a higher law of the kingdom, and under greater penalties, to use no form of public worship but that established. If I be wanting to my duty in this, I am confident they will answer it who lay the restraint upon me. You mightily applaud that piece of freedom, that I must make my prayer myself, but yet, you know, they bind me in their materials: and shall I pray for your synod and armies, or give thanks for your Covenant? Truly, Sir, I am not yet satisfied, and therefore long impatiently to see you, for I hope your charitable desire of informing me still continues. What remains, I will reserve till then, because I cannot but reflect upon my rudeness already committed in this talkative paper.

“ ‘ At the close you interpose a word or two concerning your mutability. Good Sir, do not phrase it so. When I wrote that passage which you aim at, I intended only to convict fame of a lie; to let you know there is more brass in her forehead than in her trumpet; and to applaud the poetical fiction in the choice of her sex, because I find her such a babbler and busy-body. I know that Mr. Weller's principles are so well and so deeply grounded, so strongly fortified, that all the logic at Westminster cannot alter them; and that it should be done before, I see no likelihood. *Cælum non animum mutant.* Sir, I look upon an opinion once entertained by you, as Hull or Gloucester, or if there be, a more impregnable castle. I know you can stand oft against all opposition; you know well how to ward the blows both of the right hand and the left. You slight the proffers of advantage that would woo you to give up, as much as you scorn the danger, and sit above all apprehensions of it. I know you'll dispute every inch before you quit it; being underneath *terram*, like a die,

however you be thrown down, you cannot lose your squareness, for you still fall upon a sure basis. So that, should any one tell me he saw you take the Covenant, I should be bold, if civility gave me leave, to give him the lie. Nay, should I myself see you lift up your hand and subscribe your name, I would strait turn sceptic and conclude my eyes deceived me. However, in despite of all mutabilities, I shall ever be, most unchangeably,

“ ‘Your faithful friend and servant,

“ ‘W. S.’ ” (P. 35—41.)”

He continued fellow and tutor of Emanuel College, till after the murder of the King, his anticipations of which sorrowful event, and his feelings when it had taken place, are powerfully and affectingly described in the two following letters to his father.

“ *From William Sancroft to his Father.*

“ January 11, 1648.

“ ‘ Things grow worse and worse every day ; and there is nothing left for the king and his party, in this world, but the glory of suffering well and in a good cause, which I hope nor devils nor men will be able to deprive them of. For my part, if once I see the fatal blow struck, I shall think of nothing but trussing up all and packing away, and nothing but your command shall stay me long in a nation which, I am persuaded, will sink to the centre, if it suffers so horrid a wickedness without chastisement. In the mean time, we must observe and adore the mysteries and wonders of Providence in all these traverses. You see the army could never ruin the king till they nulled the Lords and enslaved the Commons, and so ruined the parliament that lent the first hand to the setting of them up and pulling down the king. And what shall we say if William Prynne, who was the first incendiary, and sowed the first seeds of sedition, suffer at last in the king’s quarrel. You will see by the papers I send you he is engaged : and you neither know him and his pertinacy if you think he will retreat, nor his adversaries and their fury if you think they will spare.’ ”

“ *From William Sancroft to his Father.*

“ February 10, 1648.

“ ‘ What all men sadly presaged, when I wrote my last, all good men now inconsolably lament. The black act is done, which all the world wonders at, and which an age cannot expiate. The waters of the ocean we swim in cannot wash out the spots of that blood, than which never any was shed with greater guilt since the son of God poured out his. And now we have nothing left but to importune the God to whom vengeance belongs, that he would show forth himself, and speedily account with these prodigious monsters, or else hasten his coming to judgment, and so put an end to these enormous crimes, which no words yet in use can reach, or thought conceive without horror and amazement. I send you no papers, nor can I delight to look in any, since I read the saddest that ever England saw ; those I mean that related the martyrdom of the best Protestant in these kingdoms, and incomparably the best king upon earth, Charles the

pious and the glorious, with whom fell the church and the kingdom, religion and learning, and the rewards of both, and all the piety and honesty of the nation could hope for, in this world. And, now, the breath of our nostrils being taken away, we only draw in so much as we render again in sighs, and wish apace for the time when God shall call for it all. When we meet, 'tis but to consult to what foreign plantation we shall fly, where we may enjoy any liberty of our conscience, or lay down a weary head with the least repose, for the church here will never rise again though the kingdom should. The universities we give up for lost; and the story you have in the country of Cromwell's coming amongst us will not be long a fable; and now 'tis grown treason (which in St. Paul's time was duty), to pray for kings and all that are in authority; the doors of the church we frequented will be shut up, and conscientious men will refuse to preach, where they cannot, without danger of a pistol, do what is more necessary, pray according to their duty. For my part, I have given over all thoughts of that exercise in public, till I may, with safety, pour out my vows for Charles II., the heir, I hope, of his father's virtues, as well as kingdoms. In the mean time there are caves and dens of the earth, and upper rooms and secret chambers, for a church in persecution to flee to, and there shall be our refuge. I long exceedingly, Sir, to wait upon you that I may safely communicate my thoughts to you, nor shall I adventure any more of this nature till I see you. In the mean time, with my humble duty to yourself and my good mother, with my hearty love to all my brothers, sisters, and friends, beseeching God to comfort you in all your public and private sorrows, I humbly take leave, and subscribe myself, Sir,

“ ‘ Your obedient son,  
“ ‘ W. S.’ ” (P. 42—45.)

The King's death, and that of his father, which followed soon afterwards, were severe afflictions to Mr. Sancroft; to which his expulsion from his fellowship soon succeeded. The offensive oath known by the name of the Engagement, by which all persons were required to bind themselves to be true and faithful to the government then established, the refusal to take which incapacitated for any office in church or state, decided the separation of Mr. Sancroft from his college, by the forfeiture of his fellowship in the month of August, 1651. He was one of about two hundred, masters and fellows, at Cambridge, ejected during the time of the civil war, and usurpation; one part of whom, and that, it seems, the larger part, were turned out at the end of 1643 and beginning of 1644, for not taking the covenant; and the other part for not taking the engagement in 1650, when several of those who had been put in by the Earl of Manchester were displaced by the independents. Dr. D'Oyly, in relating this passage of Mr. Sancroft's life, pays an elegant tribute to his resolute principles and upright conscience. “ His firm and inflexible behaviour,” says his biographer, “ at this earlier



period of his life, finely illustrates the motives from which he afterwards acted at the time of the Revolution. It shows that the scrupulous regard to the obligation of an oath which he then maintained with excessive rigour, sprang from no feeling hastily or suddenly contracted, but from a principle which was deeply rooted in his heart, which formed an original and integral part of his character, and by which, under all the varying circumstances of his life, he steadily directed his course."

The period of Mr. Sancroft's life between this last event, and the restoration of the lawful sovereign to the throne of these realms, is but scantily filled by the intelligence of his biographer. Two works, however, appear to have been produced by his pen, and given to the press during this interval,—a pamphlet entitled *Fur Prædestinatus*, and another which bore the title of *Modern Policies*. The *Fur Prædestinatus* consists of a supposed dialogue between a thief in the immediate expectation of the execution of a capital sentence which had been pronounced upon him, and a Calvinistic preacher who came to awaken him to a repentance of his crimes. "The thief," says Dr. D'Oyly, "is full of self-satisfaction; maintains that he could not have acted any other part, as all men, being either elect or reprobate, are predestined to happiness or misery; that the best actions, as they are reputed, partake of so much wickedness as to differ in no essential degree from the worst; that sinners fulfil the will of God as much as those who most comply with his outward commands; and that God, as working irresistibly in all men, is the cause of the worst sins which they commit. That he had always reflected respecting himself in this manner; that either he must be elect or reprobate: if the former, the Holy Spirit would operate so irresistibly as certainly to effect his conversion; if the latter, all his care and diligence for effecting his salvation would rather do harm than good: but now he felt satisfied he was one of the elect, who, though they may fall into grievous sins, cannot fail of salvation."

This was a period, no doubt, in which a very large portion of the community had lost the equipoise of sound and correct principles, and had rushed impetuously into the wildest extremes of doctrine, if that can merit the title of "doctrine" which either supposes that our works can find any acceptance with God but through the merits of Christ, or that works are of no necessity as the operative testification of our faith. We entirely agree with Dr. D'Oyly, that antinomianism obstructs the natural influence of Christianity on the heart; and we cannot doubt that the satire of the *Fur Prædestinatus* was justified by the actual predicament of the times. We suspect that

many in our day are apt to take upon themselves to propose much too easy terms to their fellow sinners; and that the self-satisfied state of mind in which criminals are seen to go carolling to their execution, argues rather an intoxication of the brain, than an essential change of the heart. But we are upon dangerous ground, and we have no desire to delay in our passage over it. Every year brings with it additional conviction, that we have nothing to do, with Calvinism or anti-Calvinism; but that what God tells by his undoubted word to do and to believe, it is our business to adopt and practise with devout and humble obedience, not relying on ourselves, but so working as if works were all; so praying, as convinced of our inability of ourselves to help ourselves; considering works as living faith, and faith as vital effieience; faith as involving the whole work of the evangelical law,—the work of believing on him whom God hath sent,—and also the work of “keeping his commandments:” works, as the expansion of faith, expressing it, exemplifying it, doing it;—and considering further, that it is a part of faith to abstain from vain curiosity concerning the inscrutable counsels of God, or the manner in which his attributes are to be reconciled with our puny metaphysics, or the perfection of his nature with his apparent government of the world.

With respect to the spirit and plan of this work of Mr. Sancreft, its style of expression, and mode of illustration, we cannot say we wholly approve of it. It selects from the works of the Calvinistic reformers detached passages, as conveying their entire sentiments, without the qualifying parts; for though it may not be denied that many dogmas of a dangerous tendency, found in their works, are vainly endeavoured, by their assertors, to be softened by inferences which do not logically consist with them; yet it is but fair towards the antinomian himself to show in his behalf, that he strives against the practical mischiefs flowing from his own speculative tenets, and that he himself imperfectly adopts that which he dares not follow out into its conclusions.

We agree, however, with Dr. D'Oyly, that the dialogue is managed with great ability; and that it may be deemed, on the whole, the most successful exposure of the high Calvinistic doctrines which has ever appeared; nor can he be far from the truth in saying, that such tenets as have a tendency to produce spiritual pride, impenitence, and security, in conjunction with a sinful and immoral course of life, cannot be the genuine doctrines of a religion destined to purify and meliorate the heart of man. The *Fur Prædestinatus* seems to have been an expansion of the dialogue in Lucian between Minos and Sostrates, from which the antinomian, or high Calvinistic teacher, may

take an useful hint to impose silence upon his followers, when they would interrogate too closely. Ὅρα δε, μη της αλλης ερωταῖν τα ὁμοια διδαξης.

Dr. D'Oyly bestows great praise upon the tract attributed to Mr. Sancroft, called *Modern Policies*, which was written to bring deserved contempt and hatred upon the unsound and nefarious principles of policy which had in various shapes been promulgated and adopted in his own time. In the second volume of our author's work, the contents of this pamphlet, as well as the *Fur Prædestinatus*, are given to his readers; and if Mr. Sancroft was really the writer, and we see no reason to be sceptical on that head, we must agree with the biographer, that it raises to considerable height his literary claims. He treats of each principle which it is his purpose to expose in a distinct section or chapter, in which, after having ironically set forth all the Machiavelian grounds of its defence and justification, he sets the matter straight again, by a sober refutation of the imposture, in a conclusion which he calls the *Colasterion*.

For some years after his loss of his academical appointments, Mr. Sancroft was in circumstances far from affluent, living probably on the small estate left him by his father, the profits of his publications, and perhaps some savings from his university emoluments. The correspondence maintained with him by his college friend, Mr. Paman, presents an amusing picture of the state of things at Cambridge at that period.

*To my ever honoured Friend Mr. William Sancroft, from Henry Paman.*

“ ‘ HONOURED TUTOR, Dated St. John's, March 5th, 1652.

“ ‘ I did intend this day to have been at Triplow, but that some letters from my father, which inquire after your health, arrested my resolution. I hope, by this opportunity, to know that your ague is gone, and your health renewed and young again. F—— at London thanked God for the bitter mercy.\* And Peters more scurvily said, the business was so long doubtful that God was brought to his hums and haws, which way he should fling the victory. Most believe, it was an Edge-hill victory. After so long banishment, the Common Prayer last Thursday at night entered into Trinity chapel, and once more consecrated it. Dr. Hill, next morning, they say, snuffed; he thought sure his incense would not ascend with strange fire, and presently swept the chapel with an exposition. Dr. Comber had leave to be buried in his own vineyard? and, though he might not live upon his own ground, he may sleep and rest there. He showed so much gentleness while he lived, there is no fear of an angry tormenting ghost.”

\* This seems to allude to the great naval battle fought between the English and Dutch admirals, Blake and Van Tromp, for three days, about February 18, 1652-3. See Echard.

*" To Mr. Wm. Sancroft, from Henry Paman.*

*" (At Mr. Gayer's Lodgings, in the Middle Temple.)*

*" ' HONOURED TUTOR,*

*" St. John's, March 30th, 1653.*

*" ' I humbly thank you for the account I received of your health, which is always very acceptable. I am sorry to hear Mr. Gayer has got an ague. I was with Mr. Orator, (for so his first and excellent fruit of his office yesterday makes me remember him,) who returns his humble service. Mr. Peters preached here on Sunday, and, in the general, cheated the company and expectation with a sober honest sermon; only he was not so severe as altogether to forget what many came for, but satisfied them sometimes in words and sometimes in action. At Ely, he told the people, the draining of the fens was a divine work, having a resemblance to the work of the third day. Mr. Boreman preached yesterday, who, they say, deceived few men's expectations, for it was generally thought a grave piece of affectation. He told Mrs. Comber, she need not use the orator, for he would sufficiently supply that; which yet was the fairest piece of the solemnity. He observed that the Dr. was born of new-year's day, and that it was then presaged he would be a deodate, a fit new-year's gift for God to bestow on the world. He was a Joseph, the twelfth son, and christened on the Epiphany twelfth day—born and christened on two eminent holydays, in high esteem with the church constantly before these times. He drove the chariot of this college for fourteen years, till a boisterous northern storm cast him out of the box. He was called to dispute at St. Andrew's in Scotland; they wondered as much at his subtilty, as we have done at their strange actions since.—These are some fragments which I make bold to send you of that long meal we had, without one drop of liquor. The solemnity was private, in Trinity College—some few invited had gloves and ribbons, but no entertainment beside.*

*• • " ' Honoured Tutor,*

*" ' Your most real servant,*

*" ' HENRY PAMAN.*

*" ' My most humble service to Mr. Gayer.'"*

*" To Mr. Wm. Sancroft, from Henry Paman.*

*" St. John's, March 30th, 1656.*

*" ' The business of the commencement is over, from whence none returns with fairer credit than Mr. Frost, who kept the B. D. act, Dr. Boylston the other. They call him Dr. Deborah, for so is his wife's name; and she, they say, the greatest prophetess. Our nation of physicians still increase; we have five Drs. this year; so numerous we are, that we shall soon be reduced to the necessity of practising upon one another, as the great fish on the smaller. We had one B. D. out of Suffolk, who came rather to make sport and satisfy his wife, than for credit to the University; his name is Beversham. I will give you a taste of him. In his English sermon upon this text—' The wind bloweth where it listeth,'—' A twig from the stem of Jesse whipt Nicodemus into a right understanding of regeneration.' In his prayer, this was a piece of confession; ' Lord, the babe of grace in the womb of our souls has not leapt at the tidings of our salvation.'"*  
(P. 80—84.)

In 1557, he passed over to Holland, where, from the supercriptions of letters addressed to him, he appears to have resided during the whole of 1658, and till about the middle of 1659. During his stay in that country, he was honoured with the particular notice of the Princess of Orange, Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I., and mother of William III. Being joined by an intimate friend, Mr. Robert Gayer, he was induced to undertake with him a tour to the southern parts of Europe, a project which was put in execution in the summer of 1659. They continued at Geneva till about the middle of September, and from thence pursued their journey to Rome. It was at this place that he received the welcome intelligence of the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of his ancestors. Soon after his arrival in England, which was at the latter end of the year 1660, preferments followed each other very quickly. He was advanced rapidly through the several situations of Prebendary of Durham, Dean of York, Master of Emanuel, Dean of St. Paul's, to the highest situation in the church. In each intermediate stage, we find him engaged in the prosecution of important designs. He appears to have been actively concerned in the alterations and additions which the Common Prayer Book underwent immediately after the Restoration. He was made one of the king's chaplains in 1661, and in the year following, recommended by royal mandate to the degree of Doctor in Divinity at Cambridge, in which mandate very special mention was made of his fidelity and affection to the royal cause. Two letters are produced by his biographer, written about this time, from which it is to be gathered that matrimony, with an amiable person, with whose merit he had much acquaintance, had been recommended to him as a means of improving his comfort, by his respected friend and patron, Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham; but that his mind had been predetermined too resolutely in favour of a single life, to be shaken by any considerations. It seems indeed to have been one of the most distinguishing characteristics of his mind, to maintain opinions and maxims, once adopted, with inflexible perseverance,—a mark of greatness or littleness, according to circumstances; but injurious and unjustifiable, certainly, where it decides abstractedly, and at a distance, what ought to be determined with reference to persons and things; and usurps upon that domain of the future, the issues of which are under the controul of an unseen Hand, and of a Providence that instructs by events.

On the mastership of Emanuel College becoming vacant, he was elected by the Fellows to fill that situation on the 14th of August, 1662; an honour quite unexpected, as he states himself, his acquaintance in the college being quite worn out. He

retained the mastership only three years, being soon called to higher preferments. During the short time, however, which Dr. Sancroft remained in his situation at Emanuel, he contributed 600*l.* towards the erection of a new chapel, and set on foot many schemes for the improvement of the college. On the 3d of January, 1663-4, he was nominated by the King to the Deanery of York; and towards the close of the year 1664 he was removed to the Deanery of St. Paul's; soon after which latter appointment he resigned the mastership of Emanuel. When Dr. Sancroft came to the Deanery of St. Paul's, the old cathedral church was in miserable decay. The reparation had been begun in 1643; but the revenues of the Dean and Chapter had been seized by the Parliament, together with the materials and money collected for the repairs. It was afterwards used as a horse barrack for the soldiers. The great fire very nearly completed the demolition. The project of repairing the old church was now of course laid aside; and to the zeal and assiduity of Dr. Sancroft we are chiefly indebted for the adoption of the plan which the genius of Dr., afterwards Sir Christopher, Wren, so nobly accomplished. Dr. D'Oyly has given us the correspondence of Dr. Sancroft with Sir Christopher Wren on the subject of the new building, from which it appears with how much interest and judgment the Dean promoted that great undertaking. The funds for the purpose were provided partly by private subscription, and partly by an act, carried through the legislature principally by the exertions of Dr. Sancroft, called the Coal Act, by which a certain sum was directed to be levied for the purpose on every chaldron of coals brought into the port of London. Dr. Sancroft subscribed 1400*l.* to the private subscription, besides his share in what was contributed by the Dean and Chapter; and he appears, after he was Archbishop of Canterbury, to have subscribed annually 100*l.* The first stone of the new cathedral was laid in 1675, and the whole edifice was completed in 1710; the great architect having lived himself to see this consummation.

It was towards the close of the year 1677 that Dr. Sancroft, on the decease of Archbishop Sheldon, was unexpectedly, as it seems, raised to the archiepiscopal chair; and the observation of the biographer seems only a tribute of justice, that it was probable "he did not owe his exaltation in any great degree, if at all, to private favour or recommendations, but principally, or entirely, to his character, which pointed him out as the person best qualified to adorn the station, and to support its dignity. It is stated," adds Dr. D'Oyly, "and probably with truth, in a narrative of his life,\* that his zeal, candour, and learning—his

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\* *Lives of English Bishops*, by Nathanael Salmon, p. 60.

exemplary behaviour in a lower state—his public spirit in so many scenes of life—his constancy in suffering—his unbiassed deportment,—all concurred to recommend him as a fit governor of the church in that turbulent age.” Dr. D’Oyly does not fail to notice the hard things insinuated by Dr. Burnet of the character and qualities of Sancroft, with the indignation natural to a biographer where his hero is disparaged. Burnet insinuates that the Court chose him for the situation, as being “a man who might be entirely gained to serve their ends; or, at least, that he would be an inactive and speculative man, and give little opposition to any thing they might attempt.” But to this his advocate gives a practical answer, by observing, that if he was really preferred to the Primacy, by the contrivance of a party, on an idea that the interests of the Church were committed to feeble hands, the event showed that they completely erred, both in the estimate they formed of his character, and in the policy which they intended to advance.

At the period of Dr. Sancroft’s advancement to the Archbishopal See of Canterbury, the nation was wholly occupied with its fears of the Popish ascendancy, Charles the II. being suspected of being, what he has since been by authentic documents proved to have been, a Catholic at heart and in principle, and James, his brother, being an avowed member of the Romish Church of the most bigotted description. It was not among the evidences of the Archbishop’s fine sense and penetration, that he entertained the project of bringing back the Duke to the creed and worship of the Protestant national church, by force of argument and persuasion. He communicated his design to the King, who approved of it, probably well anticipating the result, but recommended the Archbishop to associate with himself in this enterprise, Morley, Bishop of Winchester. Dr. D’Oyly has given the Archbishop’s letter to the Bishop of Winchester upon this occasion, in which his Grace used a phraseology which could convey no other idea than that the proposal originated with the King. “Yesterday I had a private intimation from my superior that it is his pleasure some further attempt should be made to recover the Duke of York out of that foul apostacy into which the busy traitors from Rome have seduced him.” Whereas it was made quite clear, by the Archbishop’s reply to the Duke of York, afterwards produced from the Stuart papers, that the King knew of the intention, but that the design originated with the Bishops. Dr. D’Oyly passes lightly over this dubious conduct with more courtesy towards the Archbishop’s memory than we quite like; and he must excuse us if, in the faithful discharge of our duty as censors, we complain of this neglect of his as a biographer in this instance.

On the 21st of February, Dr. D'Oyly tells us, the Duke of York having granted an audience, and been previously made acquainted with their purpose, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Winchester, were introduced into his closet at St. James's, and the Archbishop addressed him in a speech which took up an hour in the delivery, but which we do not think altogether deserves to occupy an hour of our reader's time. The style of it, however, is so peculiar, that we shall venture to trouble them with the prefatory part of it.

“ ‘ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“ ‘ We are here to wait upon you this morning (this my reverend brother and myself) with allowance and by your appointment, and are therefore the bolder to pray you, that of your clemency you would hear us patiently a few words. We come to you, Sir, with that humility and profound respect which beseems those who have the honour to speak to so great a Prince; and with hearts full of that duty and loyalty which upon so many accounts is particularly due from us to your most illustrious family. But we come also warmed and enlivened and spirited with that ardent zeal and true devotion which we owe to the excellent religion we profess, and to that most holy faith whereof our kings have the honour to be, and to be styled, the defenders. What we are now about to say to your Highness is that which heaven and earth have long expected from us that we should say, and what we cannot answer it to God or man, if we omit or neglect when we have an opportunity; which your Royal Highness is pleased at this time to afford us. And therefore hearken unto us, we beseech you, that God may hearken unto you; and let it be no grief nor offence of heart unto you, if with that freedom which becomes good Christians and loyal subjects and true Englishmen, we lay before you at this time some of the many grievances, and just complaints of our common mother, the holy, but most afflicted, church of England.

“ ‘ If there be now in the world a church to whom that eulogium, that she is a lily among thorns, is due and proper, it is this church of which we are members, ~~as~~ it stands reformed now and established amongst us: the purest certainly upon earth, as being purified from those many corruptions and abuses which the lapse of times, the malice of the devil, and the wickedness of men had introduced insensibly into the doctrine and worship and government of it. But then withal this lily of purity hath for these many years (by the malicious and subtle machinations of her restless and implacable enemies) been surrounded with thorns on every side; and even to this day she bears in her body the marks of the Lord Jesus, the scars of the old, and the impression of new and more dangerous wounds; and so fills up daily that which is behind of the sufferings of her crucified Saviour.

“ ‘ But yet, Sir, in the multitude of the sorrows which she hath in her heart, give us leave to tell you, (for so it is,) scarce any thing hath so deeply and so sensibly wounded her, as that your Royal Highness should think fit even in her affliction to forsake her. Her's



is the womb that bare you, Sir, and her's the pap that gave you suck. You were born within her then happy pale and communion, and baptized into her holy faith: you sucked the first principles of Christianity from her, the principles of the oracles of God, that sincere milk of the word, not adulterated with heterogeneous or foreign mixtures of any kind. Your royal father, that blessed martyr of ever-glorious memory, who loved her and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last. When he was ready to turn his back upon an impious and ungrateful world, and had nothing else now left him but this excellent religion, (which he thought not only worth his three kingdoms but ten thousand worlds,) he gave that queen in legacy amongst you. For thus he bespake the King your brother, and in him all that were his: words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble. 'If you never see my face again, I require and entreat you, as your father and as your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check or disaffection from the true religion established in the church of England. I tell you I have tried it, and after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the world.'

" 'And accordingly, Sir, we hereupon enjoyed you for many years, to your—we hope, we are sure to our—exceeding great comfort and satisfaction. We saw you in those happy days constant and assiduous in the chapels and oratories of the palace.

" 'Like the bright morning and evening star you still arose and set with our sun, and shined with him there in the same heavenly orb. You stood, as it was meet, next to the throne, the eldest son of this now despised church, and in capacity to become one day the nursing father of it: and we said in our hearts, it may so come to pass, that under his shadow also we shall sit down and be safe. But alas! it was not long before you withdrew yourself by degrees from thence; (we know not how, nor why, God knows;) and though we were loath at first to believe our fears, yet they proved at last too mighty for us; and when our eyes failed with looking up for you in that house of our God, and we found you not, instead of fear, sorrow filled our hearts, and we mourn your absence ever since, and cannot be comforted. And then in that other august assembly in the house of the kingdom, (the most sacred of any but the house of God himself,) think, we beseech you, Sir, (and sure it will soften and intenerate you into some pity when you have thought,) how you stab every one of us to the heart, how you even break our hearts, when we observe (as all the world doth) that we no sooner address ourselves to heaven for a blessing upon the public counsels (in which you have yourself so great too, and so high a concern), but immediately you turn your back upon us.' " (Vol. i. p. 80—84.)

The Duke heard the Archbishop throughout without interrupting him. As soon as he had finished, he declared his surprise at the visit and the object of it, and seemed to think it was done with a view to prejudice him with the people just at the

meeting of Parliament. He declined all controversy, declaring himself to have taken all possible pains to examine the grounds of his religious faith; and begged them not to take it amiss, or feel surprised, that the great pressure of business made it necessary for him to dismiss them without any further discussion of the points which they had urged. No further consideration of these points appears ever after to have taken place between the Duke and the Archbishop.

We are told by Dr. D'Oyly that in the first year of his elevation to the see, the Archbishop issued the following directions addressed to the Bishop of London, the Dean of his province, to be communicated by him to his suffragans, concerning the laxity which prevailed in ordaining persons to the holy office, and recalling them to greater strictness in the discharge of that most responsible duty; and we entirely agree with the narrator in the respect he expresses himself to feel for the motive and the matter of the exhortation. The augmentation of the smaller ecclesiastical benefices was another point which interested much the charitable heart of the Archbishop. For the promotion of this design he addressed also a letter to the Bishop of London, complaining of the neglect into which an Act passed in 1676, enacting that under all renewals of leases of rectories, or impropriate tithes, where an augmented sum should be assigned for the maintenance of the minister, such augmentation should be perpetual, had fallen, and requesting him to communicate the fact, and his regrets to the Bishops of his province, and strictly to require them to do what the statute had enjoined. The Archbishop's own example was not wanting to prove his sincerity, and enforce his recommendations. His biographer informs us that, in many instances, on renewing leases of impropriate rectories within his jurisdiction, he made a liberal augmentation to the income of the officiating ministers: four are recorded, which stand decided monuments of his large and liberal disposition.

The account given of the pious and feeling conduct of the Archbishop in honouring the insulted remains of his venerable predecessor in the see, is very pleasing and interesting.

"At an early period of his occupation of Lambeth Palace, Archbishop Sancroft had an opportunity of paying due respect to the insulted remains of one of the greatest and most venerable of his predecessors, Archbishop Parker. At the time of the rebellion, Lambeth Palace had shared the wretched fate of many ecclesiastical edifices, in being exposed to rude insult and violation. It fell to the possession of one of the parliamentary officers, Colonel Thomas Scott, whose temper seems to have well accorded with the views of the party in whose service he was employed. He converted the chapel where Arch-

bishop Parker's remains were deposited, and where a monument was erected to his memory, into a hall or dancing room; and, either for the purpose of showing his hatred to episcopacy in general, or else in the mere wantonness of profane and ferocious insolence, caused the remains of that venerable prelate to be dug up, the lead which enclosed them to be plucked off and sold, and the bones to be buried in a dung-hill. In this state they continued for some time after the Restoration. At last, Sir William Dugdale, hearing by chance of the transaction, repaired to Archbishop Sancroft, and made him acquainted with it. The Archbishop immediately caused diligent search to be made, and procured the assistance of an order from the House of Lords. The bones being at last found, were decently deposited for the second time in the chapel, near the same spot where the monument formerly stood. Over them are the following words cut in the marble pavement of the chapel:

*Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit.*

"The Archbishop ordered the same monument, which had formerly covered these remains, to be erected in the vestibule of the chapel, and himself composed the following inscription, which is still to be seen engraved on a plate of brass affixed to it:

**MATTHÆI ARCHIEPISCOPI CENOTAPHIUM.**

*Corpus enim (ne nescias, lector,)
 In adyto hujus sacelli olim rite conditum,
 A sectoriis perduellibus, anno MDCXLVII,
 Effracto sacrilegè hoc ipso tumulo,
 Elogio sepulchrali impiè refixo,
 Direptis nefariè exuviis plumbeis,
 Spoliatum, violatum, eliminatum;
 Etiam sub sterquilinio (proh scelus) abstrusum,
 Rege demum (plaudente cælo et terrâ) redeunte,
 Ex decreto Baronum Angliæ, sedulo quæsitum,
 Et sacello postliminio redditum,
 In ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit;
 Et quiescat utinam,
 Non nisi tubâ ultimâ sollicitandum.
 Qui denuo desecrabit, sacer esto." (Vol. i. p. 191—193.)*

The sense entertained by the Archbishop, of the criminality of trafficking in church preferments, is cogently and indignantly expressed in his opinion given to the King on the propriety of granting the Royal pardon to an Archdeacon of Lincoln, who had been convicted of simony in the ecclesiastical courts. The Archdeacon had presented a petition to the King, and the point was referred by his Majesty to the Archbishop.

" ' MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

" "The matter of fact for which the petitioner stands condemned is confessed in the petition; and the matter of law, whether the fact be simony, is not, I think, doubted of, by any one but himself. His whole defence is nothing but shifting and tergiversation, both below at Lincoln and here in the Arches. And now, the sentence having

overtaken him, he appeals the second time to your Majesty in Chancery, as if he were still confident of his innocence, and yet at the same time confesseth his guilt by imploring your Majesty's gracious pardon.

"Sire, the crime he stands convicted of, is a pestilence that walketh in darkness; too often committed, but very seldom discovered. And now there is a criminal detected, if your Majesty shall think fit, which God forbid, to rescue him from the penalty, the markets of Simon Magus will be more frequented than ever. Much rather, seeing he hath the courage to appeal to the delegates, to the delegates let him go: which yet, with all the rest, is humbly submitted to your Majesty's wisdom and justice.

"( Signed ) ' W. C. ' " (Vol. i. p. 204, 205.)

The Archbishop attended the death-bed of Charles II., and is stated to have used great freedom in his spiritual admonitions to the expiring monarch. At the ceremony of the coronation of James II. he placed the crown upon the head of that ill-fated Prince; and it is remarked by his biographer that this solemn act "seems greatly to have contributed to bind his attachment to him as his only lawful sovereign, and to confirm him in the steady refusal to transfer, under the subsequent change, his allegiance to another." The Archbishop has, however, incurred some censure for consenting to perform that ceremony with the omission of the administration of the Holy Communion; but we cannot help thinking that the biographer has rightly considered the case in adverting, by way of apology, to the fact of the Parliament having allowed the Duke to ascend the throne, though an avowed papist, and thereby tacitly authorised the performance of the coronation ceremony in a manner consistent with the conscience of the King. It is stated, however, in Salmon's *Lives of English Bishops*, that Archbishop Sancroft afterwards reproached himself for having consented to the omission; but, as it seems, on no sufficient foundation; as he supports his assertion by a reference to Kennett's *History of England*, in which no authority for it appears.

The next passage in the Archbishop's life to which our attention is called is his refusal to act in the commission issued by James for inquiring into ecclesiastical offences; in apology for which he alleged his advanced age and infirmities, which Burnet regards as a timorous evasion of the duty, to which he was bound by his high function, of repairing to the Commission Court, and openly protesting against it; to which it may be observed, in answer, that the Archbishop's mode of declining the office was as much an evidence of his opinion concerning it as the most open declaration against it could have been, without the disturbance and irritation which would have followed

from a more explicit opposition. The true intent and meaning of the Archbishop's refusal to act in the commission was well understood by James, to whom it appeared to give great offence; and, it is said, 'occasioned him to be forbid to appear at Court. As the intentions of James began more decidedly to declare themselves, the attachment of Archbishop Sancroft to the Church of England became more jealous, anxious, and ardent; of which, among other indications, his correspondence with Mary, Princess of Orange, afterwards Queen of England, exhibits a very interesting specimen. As the letters both of the Princess and of the Archbishop are characteristic of the respective writers, we present them to our readers.

*" To the Archbishop of Canterbury.*

*" ' Loo, October 1st, 1687.*

*" ' Though I have not the advantage to know you, my Lord of Canterbury, yet the reputation you have makes me resolve not to lose this opportunity of making myself more known to you, than I could have been yet. Dr. Stanley can assure you, that I take more interest in what concerns the Church of England than myself; and that one of the greatest satisfactions I can have, is to hear how that all the clergy show themselves as firm to their religion, as they have always been to their king; which makes me confident God will preserve his church, since he has so well provided it with able men. I have nothing more to say, but beg your prayers, and desire you will do me the justice to believe I shall be very glad of any occasion to show the esteem and veneration I have for you.*

*" ' MARIE.'*

*" To this letter the Archbishop sent the following reply. It is remarkable for the simplicity of its expression as well as for the excellent strain of pious feeling in which it is written; and it strongly evinces how deeply his heart was struck with grief and anxiety for the dangers which threatened to overwhelm the Protestant Church.*

*" ' Lambeth House, Nov. 3d, 1687.*

*" ' MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,*

*" ' The high and dear esteem you have of the church and holy religion established amongst us, so emphatically declared in your letter with which you were lately pleased to honour me, and the full assurance which further Dr. Stanley gives us, that you hold this pious good affection towards (us), in common with that great and excellent prince in whose bosom you lie, are mighty strong and rich consolations, which, as we never needed more than now, so could they never come more seasonable or welcome to us. It hath seemed good to the Infinite Wisdom to exercise this poor church with trials of all sorts and of all degrees. But the greatest calamity that ever befell us, was that it pleased God, in his wise and just providence, to permit wicked and ungodly men, after they had barbarously murdered the father, to drive out the sons from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, as if*

they had said to them, Go and serve other gods. The dreadful effects hereof we still feel every moment, but must not, nay, we cannot, particularly express. And though all this (were it yet much more) cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our sovereign and the royal family, in the legal succession of it, yet it embitters the very comforts that are left us; it blasts all our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes. Blessed be God, who in so dark and dismal a night hath caused some dawn of light to break forth upon us from the eastern shore, in the constancy and good affection of your Royal Highness and the excellent Prince towards us: for, if this should fail us too, which the God of heaven and earth forbid, our hearts must surely break. And, as our thanksgivings for you both go up before God continually, so we all pray for you without ceasing, that God would crown you with all the blessings of heaven and earth. He hath inspired your Royal Highness (with Mary in the gospel) to choose the better part, and I trust it will never be taken from you. Be faithful unto the death, and he will give a crown of life. In the close of all, your Royal Highness's personal but most undeserved grace and favour to your poor unworthy servant must not be forgotten; by which you have put now life into a dying old man, ready to sink under the double burthen of age and sorrow, but (who) will, so long as God holds his soul in life, continue inclinably to be what he is upon so many obligations, (may it please your Royal Highness,)

“ ‘ Your most devoted faithful Servant,

“ ‘ And daily orator at the Throne of Grace,

“ ‘ W. C.’ ” (Vol. i. p. 243—246.)

Archbishop Sancroft was at length driven to an open opposition to the King's unhappy counsels by the well-known declaration for liberty of conscience, “ in which,” as Dr. D'Oyly says, “ the King claimed the illegal power of dispensing with the penal laws against dissenters, and which, though bearing the outward pretence of tenderness to the consciences of all dissenters, was well understood, and notoriously intended, as a measure for favouring exclusively the Catholic party.” It was published first in the spring of 1687, and again in the following year on the 27th of April, and followed by an order requiring all the clergy to read it in their churches. It was now that Archbishop Sancroft, dismissing all reserves, decided upon an invincible opposition to this degrading measure, and forthwith dispatched letters to all the Bishops in whose sentiments he knew he could confide, to invite them to London, to deliberate upon the steps to be taken in so difficult a conjuncture, for their own security and honour, as well as of the nation at large. When the Bishops arrived, a meeting took place at Lambeth Palace on the 18th of May, 1687; at which were present, Dr. Compton of London, Dr. Lloyd of St. Asaph, Dr. Turner of Ely,

Dr. Lake of Chichester, Dr. Kenn of Bath and Wells, Dr. White of Peterborough, and Dr. Jonathan Trelawney of Bristol. It was attended also by others of the clergy of less rank, but not of inferior personal dignity, as Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury; Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Patrick, Dean of Peterborough; Dr. Tenison, Vicar of St. Martin's; Dr. Sherlock, Master of the Temple; and Dr. Grove, Rector of St. Andrew's, Undershaft. This famous conference, after some discussion and difference of opinion, terminated in a resolution to petition the King against the obnoxious injunction. The petition is remarkable for its explicitness, conciseness, and resolute moderation. It was in the following terms:—

“ ‘ Humbly sheweth,

“ ‘ That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late Declaration for liberty of conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, our holy mother the church of England being, both in her principles and constant practice, unquestionably loyal, and having (to her great honour) been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty; nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered, and settled in parliament and convocation; but among many other considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath often been declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot, in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction.

“ ‘ Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration:

“ ‘ And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

“ ‘ W. CANT. THO. BATH AND WELLS,

“ ‘ W. ASAPH, THO. PETRIBURGENS.

“ ‘ FRAN. ELY, JON. BRISTOL.”

“ ‘ JO. CICESTER. (Vol. i. p. 263, 264.)

The seven Prelates who had signed the petition presented it to the King, who, as soon as he had read it over, folded it up and said:—“This is a great surprise to me: here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion.” The rest of what passed at this extraordinary interview is thus recorded in the volume before us:—

" The Bishop of St. Asaph, and some of the rest, replied, That they had adventured their lives for his Majesty, and would lose the last drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger against him.

" *The King*.—I tell you, this is a standard of rebellion : I never saw such an address.

" *The Bishop of Bristol* (falling on his knees). Rebellion ! Sir, I beseech your Majesty, do not say so hard a thing of us. For God's sake, do not believe we are or can be guilty of a rebellion. It is impossible that I or any of my family should be so. Your Majesty cannot but remember that you sent me down into Cornwall to quell Monmouth's rebellion ; and I am as ready to do what I can to quell another, if there were occasion.

" *Bishop of Chichester*.—Sir, we have quelled one rebellion and will not raise another.

" *Bishop of Ely*.—We rebel, Sir ! we are ready to die at your feet.

" *Bishop of Bath and Wells*.—Sir, I hope you will give that liberty to us, which you allow to all mankind.

" *Bishop of Peterborough*.—Sir, you allow liberty of conscience to all mankind ; the reading this Declaration is against our conscience.

" *The King*.—I will keep this paper. It is the strangest address which I ever saw ; it tends to rebellion. Do you question my dispensing power ? Some of you here have printed and preached for it, when it was for your purpose.

" *Bishop of Peterborough*.—Sir, what we say of the dispensing power refers only to what was declared in parliament.

" *The King*.—The dispensing power was never questioned by the men of the church of England.

" *Bishop of St. Asaph*.—It was declared against in the first parliament called by his late Majesty, and by that which was called by your Majesty.

The King, insisting upon the tendency of the petition to rebellion, said, He would have his Declaration published.

*Bishop of Bath and Wells*.—We are bound to fear God and honour the king. We desire to do both : we will honour you, we must fear God.

" *The King*.—Is this what I have deserved, who have supported the church of England, and will support it ? I will remember you that you have signed this paper. I will keep this paper ; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you, especially from some of you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

" *Bishop of Bath and Wells*.—God's will be done.

" *The King*.—What's that.

" *Bishop of Bath and Wells*.—God's will be done.—And so said the Bishop of Peterborough.

" *The King*.—If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal.

" After this singular conversation, conducted with so much heat and impetuosity of temper on the part of the king, and with such calm-



ness and respectfulness of demeanour on the part of the bishops, they were dismissed from the royal presence." (Vol. i. p. 265—268.)

Dr. Compton, the Bishop of London, though he attended the meeting at the palace, did not join in presenting the petition, probably, as Dr. D'Oyly thinks, because, being then under suspension, he did not think it proper to be a petitioning Bishop, but he signed a copy of the petition written in the Archbishop's own hand, as did also the Bishops of Norwich, Gloucester, Sarum, Winchester, and Exeter, who had not arrived in town when the petition was presented.

The prosecution and trial of the seven prelates who signed this petition as for a misdemeanor, in being the authors of a seditious libel, and the support and encouragement they received under it from the whole body of the people, are very circumstantially, and, we believe, accurately related by Dr. D'Oyly; to whose interesting account, collected in great part from MSS., many of which were written wholly by the Archbishop himself, we must refer those who wish to be well informed on this celebrated occurrence of our national history. The letter written to the Archbishop by Dr. Stanley, Chaplain of the Prince and Princess of Orange, by desire of their Highnesses, to express their sentiments to him of his conduct on this occasion, is a document which we would not willingly withhold from our readers.

“ ‘Houssaerdyke, May 30,  
June 10, 1688.

“ ‘ All men here, that love the Church and Reformation, do rejoice at it (the petition) and thank God for it, as an act very prudent and resolute, and every way becoming your places and characters; but especially our excellent prince and princess were so well pleased with it (notwithstanding what the Marquis of Abbeville, the king's envoy here, could say against it), that they have both vindicated it before him, and given me a command in their names to return your Grace their hearty thanks for it; and at the same time to express their real concern for your Grace and all your brethren, and for the good cause in which you are engaged; and I dare say, they are not only highly satisfied with your Grace's conduct, but reckon themselves particularly obliged by your Grace's so steadily maintaining the church; and your refusing to comply with the king is by no means looked on by them as tending to disparage or depress the monarchy: for they reckon the monarchy to be really undervalued and injured by all unreasonable and illegal actions, though never so much pretending to enhance it. Indeed, we have great reason to bless and thank God, for their Highnesses' steadiness in so good a cause, and their affection towards us. They do give us all the comfortable prospect that we ourselves can desire: and I pray God in his good time to answer and fulfil all these our hopes in them." (Vol. i. p. 275, 276.)

The case of the defendants appears to have been very ably conducted by their counsel, as well it might be by such men as Sir Robert Sawyer, Mr. Sergeant Pemberton, Mr. Finch, Mr. Pollexfen, Mr. Sergeant Levinz, Sir George Treby, and Mr. Somers, afterwards Lord Somers, which last advocate concluded his speech in the following words :

“ ; By the law of all civilized nations, if the prince does require something to be done, which the person who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his duty, *rescribere principi*; this is all that is done here; and that, in the most humble manner that can be thought of. They did not interpose by giving their advice as peers; they never stirred till it was brought home to themselves; when they made their petition, all they begged was, that it might not be so far insisted upon by his Majesty, as to oblige them to read it; whatever they thought of it, they did not take upon them to desire the Declaration to be revoked.

“ ‘ My lord, as to matters of fact alleged in the said petition, that they are perfectly true, we have shown by the journals of both houses. In every one of those years which are mentioned in the petition, this power of dispensation was considered in parliament, and upon debate declared to be contrary to law: there could be no design to diminish the prerogative, because the king hath no such prerogative.

“ ‘ Seditious, my lord, it could not be, nor could it possibly stir up sedition in the minds of the people, because it was presented to the king, in private and alone: false it could not be, because the matter of it is true. There could be nothing of malice, for the occasion was not sought, the thing was pressed upon them; and a libel it could not be, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set by the act of parliament, that gives the subject leave to apply to his prince by petition when he is aggrieved.’ ” (Vol. i. p. 303, 304.)

The Judges all pronounced the petition to be no libel; and Justice Powell, in particular, a lawyer of a very high cast, affirmed that it did not partake of the character of a libel in any one of its features, in being either false, malicious, or seditious; that the King possessed no dispensing power; and that, therefore, his declaration formed on such pretended power was illegal. The joy of the public on the acquittal of the prelates was excessive; and Dr. D'Oyly is not sparing in terms descriptive of the general triumph. “ Nothing could exceed the enthusiastic reverence and admiration with which the seven prelates were at this time viewed by the whole nation. They were hailed as the great champions of the liberties of their country. Their portraits were seen in every shop, and eagerly bought up. Medals were struck to commemorate the great occasion of their trial and deliverance; they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks; and were called the seven stars of the Protestant church ”

Archbishop Sancroft was neither daunted by power nor elated by popularity; he moved onwards in the steady, even course which his conscience prescribed to him, without the slightest vacillation. Living under very contrary aspects of public affairs, he persevered in a conduct equally remote from all extremes; and if erring in judgment, as he appears to us to have done at the great crisis of the Revolution, the noble self-sacrifice by which he attested the sincerity of his principles, made that part of his life, in which his judgment appeared most to deceive him, the most dignified period of his existence. Before the time arrived for evincing the deep sense he entertained of the obligation of the oath by which he had bound himself to his prince, and whereby he considered himself in conscience precluded from transferring his allegiance to him by whom he was supplanted, opportunities were afforded him for manifesting his inviolable attachment to the Protestant church, and the religious and political liberties bound up with its destinies. Neither ought it to be forgotten that the purity of that church was, in his view, the most essential part of its prosperity. We regret that we cannot allow ourselves room to introduce the whole of a series of practical admonitions which, soon after his prosecution and trial, he caused to be issued to the clergy of his province through the Bishops. These admonitions urged in the strongest terms upon his clergy the necessity of caution against the seductions of popish emissaries; and in this respect they bore testimony to the resolute spirit with which, in the face of power, he continued to maintain the cause of our reformed and free church; but the same document further exhibited, in the articles proposed to the whole clerical body throughout his diocese, which, in terms the most plain and powerful, exhorted and directed them to a more effectual discharge of their clerical duties, an admirable outline of pastoral duties, and an example no less admirable of what it belongs to a bishop to do towards relieving his conscience under the weight of his momentous responsibilities. The eleventh of these articles is expressed in terms of so much Christian simplicity and beauty that we cannot forbear extracting it, for the sake of its present applicability.

“ That they also walk in wisdom towards those that are not of our communion; and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion: more especially, that they have a very tender regard to our brethren the Protestant Dissenters; that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full com-

pliance with our church, or at least that ' whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing.' And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assuring and convincing them, that the Bishops of this church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace, for the universal blessed union of all reformed churches both at home and abroad against our common enemies; that all they, who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love. (Vol. i. p. 324, 325.)

The scheme of comprehension which Archbishop Sancroft was induced to set on foot, in consequence of the mild temper at that time manifested by the Protestant dissenters towards the established church, is adverted to in terms not very favourable by Dr. D'Oyly. We cannot help lamenting, with him, that we do not possess more knowledge than has reached us, of the details of the Archbishop's plan; but we do not regret it, as Dr. D'Oyly seems to do, merely as a matter of *curious* information, but as a matter of substantial moment, if his purpose was, as it is said, " to make such alterations in the liturgy, and in the discipline of the church, in points not deemed of essential and primary importance, as might prove the means, through corresponding concessions on the part of the more moderate dissenters, of admitting them within its pale."

In the pressing difficulties to which James was soon after reduced, he thought it for his interest to turn for advice and support towards the very prelates with whom he had been so lately at war. The advice which was given by the Archbishop and Bishops, pursuant to this invitation, and which was drawn up under ten distinct heads, was manly, judicious, and temperate in the highest degree; and in this proceeding also our virtuous Archbishop had a prevailing share. We are sorry we cannot give it room in our pages.

The next great object of the King was to prevail upon the Bishops to sign a declaration, expressive of their abhorrence of the design of the Prince of Orange. But this they could never be persuaded to do. In the conference which the Bishops had with the King upon this subject, they were informed of the King's having seized a person with one of the Prince of Orange's declarations, from which it was to be inferred that they had invited him to make the attempt; his Majesty at the same time assuring them that he totally disbelieved the imputation. The Archbishop

declared, that he owed to his sovereign a natural allegiance, having been born in his kingdom: that he had oftentimes confirmed this, by taking voluntarily the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and that he could have at once but one king: that, as his Majesty well knew, he never worshipped the rising sun, nor made court to any but his King: that as to this particular charge, and his personal concern in it, he averred it to be utterly false: with more asseverations to the same effect; which shows his strong feeling, says Dr. D'Oyly, of the impossibility of transferring his allegiance, from James to any other Prince. We cannot think that in this conference the Archbishop sustained his part with any peculiar dignity: nor can we at all approve of his choosing that time for complaining to the King of the persecutions to which he and his brethren had been exposed. There seem, however, to have been sufficient grounds for his refusal to sign any such public document as that to which he was now pressed to give his name and authority. There was no reason, for the Bishops taking this political ground separately from the legislature; nor was the Archbishop's refusal so to do at all inconsistent with his subsequent refusal to acknowledge another King in violation of his religious scruples, however narrow those scruples may be considered. There can be no doubt, however, that this resistance of the Bishops to the urgent solicitations of the King tended much to increase the depression of his affairs. About this time the Chancellorship of the University of Cambridge having become vacant by the death of the Duke of Albemarle, Archbishop Sancroft was elected to that honourable post; but his Grace thought proper to decline the office, in expectation, no doubt, of the events which were so soon to alter his condition.

The conduct of the Archbishop, when the Prince and the Princess of Orange arrived in London, was very decided. All the prelates who were in or near the metropolis, waited upon the Prince, except the Archbishop of Canterbury; and when the House of Lords assembled, the Archbishop was absent from his place; nor could the urgent solicitations of his friends prevail upon him to attend, or in any manner to recognise the new authorities, by taking any part in the great public transactions.

But it appears that in private, the Archbishop not only revolved the question of the new settlement much in his mind, but committed his thoughts very methodically to paper. Amongst his papers, written with his own hand, the arguments on all sides are copiously stated, the particulars of one of the principal of which papers Dr. D'Oyly has extracted for his readers. From these it appears, that the Archbishop was satisfied

that the King had acted contrary to the laws of the realm, in consequence of unhappy principles taken up by him, opposed to the religion and interest of the people; and there appeared to be but three ways of settling the government, under the existing circumstances of the King's having left the kingdom without any provision for carrying on the administration in his absence, viz. 1. "To declare the commander of the foreign force King, and solemnly to crown him;" 2. "To crown the Princess only as next heir to the throne;" 3. "To declare the King, by reason of his principles and resolutions, incapable of the government, and to declare the commander Custos Regni, with authority to carry on the government in the King's right and name." For the adoption of this third device, the mind of this firm, but, in some degree, prejudiced personage, was conscientiously and immoveably determined; and in maintenance of it he refused to take the new oath; thus finally incurring his suspension and deprivation, in company with many others of his own order who entertained the same unhappy scruples. A singular part of his conduct was his refusal to quit the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth till ejected by process of law; a conduct neither temperate nor judicious in its character, but which seemed only to proceed from an over nice apprehension of duty, which disposed him to abstain, as far as possible, from all appearance of acquiescence in the transfer of the diadem. This, he considered, no authority on earth had conventionally a power to do, whatever might have been done by right of conquest, had the Prince of Orange invaded the kingdom and subdued it as a conqueror: but as to any right of deposing and electing kings *ad libitum*; to suppose, said the Archbishop, that such a power resided in the whole body of the people, was to maintain a proposition contrary to the known maxims of the law of England. He forgot, or never understood, that the oldest maxim of the law of England is, that England shall be governed according to law, and upon the basis of rights which are never to be prescribed against, and which the people of England are never to be understood to have surrendered. The final act of settling the state is thus related:

"The Convention assembled on the 22d of January. The House, after voting an address of thanks to the Prince, proceeded to consider what steps were to be taken for the settlement of the government in the existing emergency. The Commons had no difficulty in coming to the resolution, that 'King James, having broken the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of wicked persons, violated the laws, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom, hath abdicated the government, and the throne is thereby vacant.' This they soon followed up by another resolution, that Popery is inconsistent

with the English constitution, and that, therefore, all Papists shall be for ever excluded from the succession to the English crown. The peers were much more slow in acceding to these resolutions, especially to that respecting the abdication of the king, and the existing vacancy of the throne. The question being moved, whether they should appoint a regent or a king, the latter alternative was only carried by a majority of two, the numbers being forty-nine and fifty-one. Amongst the bishops, and clergy in general, a strong feeling prevailed against every thing which could bear the semblance of a deposing power, which was amongst the most flagrant usurpations of Popery. Accordingly, only two bishops, those of London and Bristol, voted in favour of filling up the throne as vacant; the Archbishop of York, and eight other bishops, voted for a regency. After various debates and conferences between the two houses, they at last happily came to the joint resolution, the only one which afforded a reasonable prospect of settling the government on a permanent foundation, and of giving real security to the public liberties, that, the throne being then actually vacant, the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared king and queen. On Wednesday, February 13th, the two Houses waited on them with a declaration to this effect, and on the same day, they were proclaimed in the metropolis, to the great joy and satisfaction of the people." (Vol. i. p. 427—429.)

The conduct of the Archbishop, who never went out of Lambeth Palace during these important proceedings, or declared his opinion in any public manner, seems, even by his admiring biographer, to be given up to censure. The only attempt at apology made for this behaviour is by referring it to the conflicting views which presented themselves to his mind, rendering it impossible for him to satisfy himself as to the course which he ought upon the whole to take, and thus keeping him from taking any part at all. It is evident, however, that by this behaviour of the Archbishop, some embarrassment must have been thrown in the way of the new government, without the smallest advantage to the interests of that which had been displaced.

The King manifested the strongest disposition to conciliate Archbishop Sancroft. He nominated him in the first list of privy counsellors, but he never took his seat. The King and Queen were crowned by the Bishop of London.

On the evening of the day in which judgment passed on the ejection which the Archbishop had rendered necessary to expel him from the palace, June 23, 1690, he retired from the palace, says his biographer, in the most private manner, attended by the steward of his household and three other gentlemen. Without even sending for his chaplains, previous to his departure, to give them the slightest intimation of his intention, he took boat at Lambeth ferry, and went to a private house in Palsgrave-court in the Temple. On the succeeding

day the servants of his establishment were dismissed. The following pleasing anecdote is here related of him:—

“ The Archbishop remained at the house in the Temple for about six weeks, and appears to have received there the visits of his friends in all ranks of life. Amongst other, Thomas, Earl of Aylesbury, called to pay him a visit. The prelate received him at the door of his apartment, which was opened by himself. The Earl, struck with this circumstance as a mark of humiliation, and with the total change of every thing around, from what he had formerly seen in his visits at Lambeth Palace, burst into tears. As soon as he recovered his power of speech, he told him how deeply he was affected with what he saw, and how unable he was to suppress his grief. ‘ O my good lord,’ replied the Archbishop, ‘ rather rejoice with me, for now I live again.’ ” (Vol. i. p. 470.)

“ The Archbishop finally left the metropolis on the 3d of Aug. 1691; and on the 5th arrived at Fresingfield, his native place, which he never afterwards left.” The account of his death is as follows:

“ The day before he breathed his last, he received the sacrament from Dr. Trumbull, who had formerly been his chaplain, and who was a nonjuror. Dr. Trumbull came there accidentally that day: he had intended to receive it from the ejected minister of Eye, Mr. Edwards.

“ As the venerable Archbishop drew near his end, he repeated to those who stood around him, his protestations of the sincerity with which he had acted. He told them that his profession was real and conscientious, and not proceeding from any sinister ends; that he had the very same thoughts of the present state of affairs which he had at first, and that, if the same thing were to be acted over again, he should quit all that he had in this world rather than violate his conscience. In further confirmation of the state of his feelings, in less than an hour before he died, he put up these two hearty and earnest petitions to God,—‘ that he would bless and preserve his poor suffering church, which by this revolution is almost destroyed; that he would bless and preserve the king, the queen and the prince, and in his due time restore them to their just and undoubted rights.’ ”

“ His memory and intellects remained perfect to the last moment. His bodily faculties remained so too to a singular degree. A very short time before he breathed his last, he called for a common prayer-book, and, though one was brought to him of the smallest print, he himself turned to the commendatory prayer, and ordered it to be read. That being performed, he composed himself more solemnly for his departure. He put his hands and arms down to both his sides, and desired his head to be placed lower, thus in a manner laying himself out to receive the stroke of death. In this posture, with the utmost cheerfulness and resignation of spirit, he breathed his last a little after midnight, on the morning of Friday, November the 24th, 1693.” (Vol. ii. p. 63—65.)

The chapter which follows this account comprises a very



pleasing view of his character, his habits, talents, and literary pursuits, which we have perused with great interest; and we regret that the already protracted length of this article compels us to leave it untouched. We should do great injustice, however, to Dr. D'Oyly, if we did not take leave of his performance with declaring our obligations to it for much entertainment and instruction, and with an assurance to our readers, that in becoming possessed of these volumes they will enrich their libraries with a treasure from which their principles may be confirmed, their understandings enlarged, and their lives adorned.

**ART. IX.**—*A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa in the Years 1818, 1819, 1820, accompanied by Geographical Notices of Soudan, and of the Course of the Niger, with a Chart and coloured Plates.* By Capt. Lyon, R.N. Companion of the late Mr. Ritchie. 4to. Murray. London, 1821.

WITHOUT the slightest affectation of fine writing, Capt. Lyon has succeeded in giving considerable interest to his researches. Indeed we have always considered unpretending simplicity of narration to be one of the principal recommendations of a book of travels. Judging, therefore, of his work in reference to this standard, we are by no means disposed to award it a cold or thrifty commendation. We may add, also, that though it does not abound in sentimental description, or picturesque delineation, it presents abundant matter of instructive contemplation to all who participate in the concerns of our common humanity. It is emphatically a picture of the desert, and exhibits that portion of our species, whose lot has been cast in those unblest and unpropitious climes, in their most degraded attitudes—alternately enslaving and enslaved—struggling at once with the weight of a galling and ferocious despotism, and the ills of a scanty and ungrateful soil. Of the slave trade, it gives us sketches done to the life; nor is it easy to form a complete conception of that accursed traffick, without being in some degree conversant with details, such as Capt. Lyon and others who have visited the interior of Africa, have, with so gloomy a fidelity, laid open to us.

Our feelings indeed would have been less agonized by the perusal of them, had they unfolded at the same time any cheering or consolatory prospects of its termination. Even, if the perseverance and zeal of the friends of the human race in Europe should be crowned with the happiest consummation, the benefit must, in all probability, long be confined to an inconsi-

derable part of that country—the negro districts of western and south-western Africa. We are confirmed in this sorrowful foreboding by one of the most intelligent of our modern travellers, the excellent and lamented Burkhardt, who observes, that “if all the outlets of Soudan were closed to the slave trade, and the caravans, which now carry on the traffic with Barbary, Egypt, and Arabia, prevented from procuring further supplies, still slavery would prevail in Soudan itself: for as long as those countries are possessed by Mussulmen, whose religion impels them to make war upon the idolatrous negroes, and whose domestic wants require a constant supply of servants and shepherds, and with whom slaves are a medium of exchange in lieu of money, slavery must continue to exist in the heart of Africa, nor can it cease till the negroes shall become possessed of the means of repelling the attacks and resisting the oppressions of their Mussulman neighbours. Europe, therefore, will have done but little for the blacks, if the abolition of the Atlantic slave-trade, which is trifling when compared with the slavery of the interior, is not followed up by some wise and grand plan tending to the civilization of the continent.”\*

Capt. Lyon has commenced his narrative with so slight a retrospect of the circumstances under which his expedition was undertaken, that it will be necessary to supply the defect from other sources of information. We must, therefore, remind our readers, that Tripoli having been deemed the most eligible point from which the prosecution of discovery in the interior of Africa could be commenced, Mr. Ritchie, formerly Secretary to Sir Charles Stuart, a young man of considerable attainments, endued with an ardent zeal for scientific research, and having had also the advantage of a medical education, was selected for the enterprise, under circumstances, it was supposed, more than usually favourable; the present Pasha having manifested the most friendly dispositions towards the pursuits of travellers in the interior. For this reason, it was determined by the British government in 1818 to appoint that gentleman to the Vice-Consulship of Morzouk, the capital of Fezzan, a dependency of Tripoli, and governed by a Bey or Sultan, on amicable terms with that state. At the same time, Capt. Marryatt, of the navy, volunteered his services to accompany Mr. Ritchie, whose instructions, it is generally understood, were to embark, as soon as it was practicable, upon the Niger, in order to trace that mysterious stream, and then to penetrate as far as the obscure city of Tombuctoo. Capt. Marryatt, however, was prevented from joining the mission; but Capt. Lyon,

\* *Travels in Nubia*, 344.

who had become acquainted with Mr. Ritchie, at Malta, offered to supply his place. The offer was accepted, and our author applied to the Admiralty for the necessary leave of absence from his ship, then on the Mediterranean station; and having employed the interval between the application and the arrival of the permission in a diligent study of the Arabic, and in other requisite preparations for the journey, joined Mr. Ritchie at Tripoli, in November, 1818. Here he found that it was his intention to proceed to Morzouk, the capital of Fezzan, with the Sultan of that country, who was preparing to return thither with a large body of men, for the purpose of waging war upon the inhabitants of Waday (the Borgoo of Brown) a district on the eastern border of his dominions.

Mohammed el Mukni had formerly held the important post of Collector of the Bashaw's Tribute, and it was whilst he was acting in that capacity, that Horneman accompanied him to Fezzan. But having, by the simple process of strangling the late Sultan, and of convincing his Tripoline Highness, that he could augment his revenue from 5000 to 15,000 annual dollars out of Fezzan alone, attained the Sultanship, he had commenced a series of incursions upon his defenceless and less warlike neighbours, from whom he carried off every year 4000 or 5000 slaves. From one of these slave hunts, he had just arrived at Tripoli with a numerous body of captives, and a great number of camels. Under the protection of this powerful personage, our travellers felt considerable confidence as to the success of their mission—a confidence naturally increased by the flattering professions of their new ally, combined with similar assurances from the Pasha, (by Capt. Lyon, uniformly spelt Bashaw,) of Tripoli; who gave them several marked proofs of his good will and sincerity.

Before, however, we proceed with our author on his arduous and perilous expedition, it would be rendering him an imperfect justice not to convey some estimate to our readers of its dangers and difficulties. Upon this head, the modesty of Capt. Lyon seems to have been studiously silent. He appears unwilling to magnify or extol the qualities requisite for the enterprise. But they are by no means every-day qualities. Zeal and perseverance and contempt of peril, and the coolest prudence joined with the most intrepid fortitude, are necessary for an undertaking, of which the dangers and the perplexities are sufficient to appal the most heroic adventurers. The words "difficult" and "impossible," the standing apology for those who undertake great things with a faint spirit and sickly resolution, must have no place in the vocabulary of an African traveller. Not to mention the tropical heats, in which disease and death are constantly

lurking, violent tornadoes, and the chances of perishing with thirst in the desert, he has to encounter the deadly hostility of a bigotted and cruel race of men, sunk in the lowest moral degradation, and inaccessible to the kindly and generous emotions of our nature.

The melancholy-fate of former adventurers in these inhospitable and savage regions, would, it might be imagined, have thrown discouragement upon another attempt. After so many disastrous failures, the excuse for declining the pursuit might have been in the words of the poet :

Quia nos vestigia terrent,  
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.

In truth, it seems almost the "bourne from which no traveller returns." For accounts of the earlier victims of this ill-fated experiment, we must refer our readers to Dr. Leyden's History of African Discoveries. The more recent instances which have occurred, since the institution of the African Association, in 1781, are not less melancholy and affecting. Ledyard, the first missionary employed by that society, undertook to traverse the continent from east to west, in the parallel of the Niger. He was eminently gifted for the employment. "A frame of adamant, a soul of fire," a deep and vigorous understanding, a mind insatiable of knowledge, were amongst the qualities of this inquisitive traveller.

"I am accustomed," said he, in his Report to the Association, "to hardships: I have known both hunger and nakedness to the utmost extremity of human suffering: I have known what it is to have food given me as charity to a madman: and I have, at times, been obliged to shelter myself under the miseries of that character to avoid a heavier calamity: my distresses have been greater than I have ever owned, or ever will own, to any man. Such evils are terrible to bear, but they have never yet had power to turn me from my purpose."

Such were the courtesy and address of this intrepid being, that he had uniformly conciliated the ferocious Moors of Egypt, and would, no doubt, have found little difficulty in ensuring a hospitable reception from the Negroes. But he fell a sacrifice to the climate before the departure of the caravan for Sennaar. In 1791, Major Houghton, who had resided as British Consul at Morocco, and during his residence there had familiarized himself with the Moorish language and customs, sailed up the Gambia to the Mandingo kingdom, at the capital of which he procured minute directions, as to the routes by which the interior was penetrable. At Fербанна (the capital of Bambouk) he was hospitably entertained by the king, who gave him instructions how to proceed to Tom-

buctoo, and furnished him with money and a guide for the journey. On his way he was robbed of all his goods; and having engaged, at Jarra, a party of Moors, who were going to purchase salt in the desert, to escort him to Tisheet, proceeded with them for some days; but probably having found reason to apprehend their treachery, returned to Jarra, which he reached in a state of exhaustion from want of sustenance; and there he was either murdered or suffered to perish with hunger. Of the melancholy fate of Mungo Park, our readers cannot be ignorant, although the mystery which hangs over it is not yet removed. No accounts of him, on which reliance can be had, have reached England since his embarkation in 1805, on the celebrated stream of the Niger. But Capt. Lyon, who was indefatigable in his inquiries respecting Tombuctoo (or, according to his orthography, Tembuctoo) among the Bornou traders, who carried on a regular traffic with that country, tells us, that though he could obtain no account of Mr. Park, "every one agreed, that it was quite impossible (the buildings being so small and ill-constructed) for him to be confined in the town unknown to the traders, who enter every house, not excepting that of the Sultan himself." (P. 146.) We think that this is enough to negative the notion seriously entertained by many, that Park was confined by the Sultan on account of his skill in surgery. The problem of his disappearance, however, will not, we fear, be speedily solved, probably not before that of the termination of the river which he attempted to explore.

A similar obscurity hangs over the death of Horneman, a German, employed by the African Association; for twenty years have elapsed since any accounts of him have been received. From Cairo he had reached Fezzan with the caravan in seventy-four days, whence he proceeded to Tripoli, and returned with Mukni, as we have already intimated, to Fezzan, from which place, as his last letter states, he was on the point of setting out with the caravan for Bornou. It is generally surmized, that he died at Aucas to the southward of Fezzan. But the following interesting information, collected by Capt. Lyon from a trader who was well acquainted with Horneman, elucidates, for the first time, the place of his death, and the disorder which occasioned it.

"Our informant gave the following account of his having accompanied Horneman from Morzouk to Bakkance, on the borders of the Nile, where he died at the house of a man called Ali El Felatni. He became acquainted with him (Horneman) in Fezzan, whence they went together with a large Kaffè (caravan) to Bornou, where they separated. After Horneman had resided three or four months there,

they again met in a Kaffè going to Kashna, and associated much together. The people became greatly attached to Horneman, on account of his amiable deportment and skill in medicine. It was Horneman's custom, while on his journeys, to note down the bearings of every tree, mountain, or village that he saw. His intention was to go through Dagomba to Ashantee. When our merchant left Noofy he was in good health and spirits, and had not experienced any difficulties; but this man, when he arrived at Kashna, heard that Horneman had died of dysentery a few days after their separation." (P. 132, 133.)

Africa has had other victims. Dr. Cowan and Mr. Nicholls fell untimely sacrifices. Roentgen, a German, was a martyr to his own imprudence. He was in every respect qualified for the enterprize, not only by an intimate acquaintance with Arabic, but by his having complied with the external rite of the Mahommedan religion. At Mogadore, he took into his service, contrary to the remonstrances of his European friends, a renegade of German extraction. With this person he suddenly proceeded into the country, though unprovided with tent or bedding, with about 700 dollars in gold, part of which he carried in his girdle, and part he had entrusted to the renegade. He was found murdered the first night of his departure, and his companion had disappeared. The more recent expeditions, namely, that which was conducted by Capt. Tuckey, and that which was under the direction of Major Peddie, terminated in results equally deplorable. We do not profess to enter into these melancholy details, conceiving that they are of too late occurrence to have escaped the recollection of our readers.

Yet the miscarriages of preceding expeditions were far from abating the zeal of Mr. Ritchie and Capt. Lyon, the former of whom was so soon to add another name to this melancholy list. They seem, on the contrary, to have been inspired with the utmost ardour and impatience to commence their journey. They were obliged, however, to postpone their departure, till Mukni was ready; and in the meanwhile, at the instance of the Pasha, adopted the Moorish costume, and strenuously applied themselves to become acquainted with the manners and usages of Moslems. Mr. Ritchie assumed the name of Yusuf el Ritchie; Belford (a volunteer from the dockyard at Malta, where he was employed as a ship-wright), that of Ali; and our author called himself Said Ben Abel Allah. A *fighi* (clerk of the mosque), instructed them in reading, and the usual ceremonies of devotion. Every thing augured well; but Mr. Ritchie's funds were slender, the supplies of the British government having been nearly absorbed in the purchase of mer

chandize, which, unfortunately, consisted chiefly of articles not required in the interior, and therefore not likely to be of service to the mission.

Of Tripoli, Capt. Lyon does not affect to speak with much detail. But of the extraordinary character of the devotees, called Marabouts, we do not remember to have met any where with so minute a description;—and, as that character is distinguished at Tripoli, by considerable modifications from the appearance which it assumes in other Moslem countries, we shall give it in Capt. Lyon's words.

“ The Marabouts in Tripoli are of two classes; idiots, who are allowed to say and do whatever they please; and men, possessed of all their senses, who, by juggling and performing many bold and disgusting tricks, establish to themselves the exclusive right of being the greatest rogues and nuisances to be met with. There are mosques, in which these people assemble every Friday afternoon, and where they eat snakes, scorpions, &c. affecting to be inspired, and committing the greatest extravagances. On the 9th of January, 1819, their annual festival began, and continued for three days with all its barbarous ceremonies. On, or rather before this day, the great Marabout is supposed to inspire those who are to appear in the processions, and who, according to their abilities, are more or less mad and furious. The natural fools are always ready for the expedition; and it is amusing to observe their looks of astonishment at being on that day more than any other, brought into notice. During the time the Marabouts (who are guarded and attended by a great number of people) are allowed to parade the streets, no Christians or Jews can with any safety make their appearance, as they would, if once in the power of these wretches, be instantly torn to pieces; indeed, wherever they show themselves on their terraces, or from windows, they are sure of a plentiful shower of stones from the boys who are in attendance. As I was in the dress of the country, and anxious to view the ceremony, I ventured to make my way to the mosque. I certainly felt that my situation was a dangerous one; but being resolved on the attempt, I dashed in with the crowd, and succeeded in getting near the saints, who, with dishevelled hair, were rapidly turning round, and working themselves into a most alarming state of phrenzy. Had I been discovered, my life would have been in jeopardy; but, fortunately, I kept my countenance, and when the performers were sufficiently inspired to set out on their procession, I sallied out with them, and followed through the streets. One had a large nail run through his face from one cheek to the other; and all had bitten their tongues so violently as to cause blood and saliva to flow copiously. They were half naked; at intervals groaning and howling; and as they proceeded (sometimes three or four abreast, leaning on each other) they threw their heads backwards and forwards with a quick motion, which caused the blood to spout from their faces, and their eyes to project frightfully from their sockets. Their long black hair, which grew from the crown of the

head (the other parts were closely shorn) was continually waving to and fro, owing to the motion of the head. One or two, who were the most furious, and who continually attempted to run at the crowd, were held by a man on each side, by means of a rope, or a handkerchief tied round the middle. As we passed through one of the streets, a party of Maltese and other Christians were discovered on a terrace, and were instantly assailed by a shower of stones. I observed that, whenever the Maraboots passed the house of a Christian, they affected to be ungovernable, and endeavoured to get near it, pretending that they made the discovery by smelling out unbelievers. (P. 9, 10.)

A knowledge of letters, Capt. Lyon tells us, is by no means necessary to constitute a great man at Tripoli, or to qualify him for a place of trust. They tried the experiment upon the first minister, of putting into his hands the Koran, with the wrong side uppermost. He pretended to read for a short time, when with a most sagacious look he returned the book, observing, that it was very well written.

Of the Tripoline manners, the picture is not very attractive, nor have their maxims of justice arrived at much perfection. Some crimes are capital by law, others are rendered capital by the whim of the Pasha. The honour of being executioner is conferred on the first Jew who happens to be at hand. Torture is in frequent use, but as it is practised in the dungeons of the Castle, no one has yet dared to give any description of it. Amputation of a hand or foot is the penalty for theft; and a repetition of the offence sometimes extends to that of the other hand or foot. The operation is performed with a razor. The limb is first tied tight above the joint with a piece of cord, and the hand or foot is taken out of the socket of the wrist or ankle bone. The stump is then dipped into hot pitch. It is astonishing, Capt. Lyon observes, how soon the culprit recovers. Beating with a stick on the posteriors or soles of the feet is very common. Some offenders contrive to stuff their trowsers, and having bribed the executioner to connivance, escape with little or no suffering. This punishment is impartially inflicted on all ranks at the pleasure of the Pasha, and his own sons, his minister, or the Sheikh of the town, should they displease him, would be obliged to submit to it; nor would they consider themselves at all degraded by undergoing it. We should suffer ourselves to be detained still longer with our author at Tripoli, had not the customs and ceremonies of that state been already described in a faithful and pleasing narrative, published a few years ago by Mr. Tully, the British Consul.\* We have, therefore, merely noticed those particularities which that writer seems to have omitted.

\* *Narrative of a Ten Years' Residence in Tripoli, 1818.*



Mukni still delayed his departure. Finding, therefore, that some weeks might still elapse before he commenced his journey, our travellers determined on employing the intermediate time in visiting Benioléed, and the Gharian mountains. This expedition gave Capt. Lyon ample opportunities of familiarizing himself with the manners and habits of the Arab tribes, by bringing him into frequent contact with that extraordinary race. The tribes of Barbary differ essentially from those of Egypt and Asia, and our author's account presents one or two facts that are novel.

"The Bedouins of Barbary are not to be compared with those of Egypt for enterprize or ingenuity; whatever they may once have been, they are now, by the tyranny of their masters, fallen from their high character, and are not in any respect better than slaves. One or two tribes are yet independent, but are likely soon to fall. Each tribe is governed by a Sheikh; but his business is now merely to collect money from his people for the Bashaw. Some years back, these Sheiks were chosen by the voice of the people, for their courage and military skill; but all offensive or defensive wars being now at an end in consequence of their repeated and bloody overthrows by the Bashaw, the name of Sheikh has no honour attached to it. In some cases, individuals refuse to undertake the office, lest they should be responsible for any faults committed by their followers.

"In their religion, they are great bigots, and easily alarmed about the wiles and enchantments of Iblis (or the devil), to whom they attribute many of their misfortunes or illnesses. Of the name and attributes of God, they never speak but with reverence, and they have a profound respect for ideots, whom they consider as people beloved of heaven, and totally unable to think of the things of this world. Marriages are contracted without either party having seen the other. The ceremony observed in conducting a bride to her husband is very curious. A frame being fixed on the back of a camel, the bride is placed in it, and while thus sitting, is housed over with carpets, shawls, and ostrich feathers. . . . . The dogs guard the flocks during the night, and are very fierce. They are of a white colour, and resemble wolves in form. They howl rather than bark. Sometimes the spot fixed on by the wandering parties, as a temporary residence, is far distant from any well, sometimes three days' march. Yet this does not dishearten the Arab, who, notwithstanding, drives his sheep once a week to drink. The wants of the people are easily supplied; a few skins of water being brought at stated times by a camel, and economized with great care. Sheep will pass a month without drinking, if they have tolerable herbage. Antelopes and buffaloes in some cases never touch water, none being found on the surface of the desert, and they are unable to obtain that which is in the wells. On the other hand, wolves, hyænas, foxes, and jackalls, are less capable of enduring thirst. They descend such wells (or properly pits) as are not deep; and the vicinity of a well is often ascertained by observing the tracks of animals, which, during the night, go there to drink. . . . .

"The horses are brought up with the children of the family. They would be a fine race, but the want of good food prevents their acquiring a handsome appearance; add to which, the ambition of possessing well-fed and comely animals does not now exist; for should any of the Bashaw's people wish to appropriate a fine horse, the owner dares not refuse to sell him at whatever low price may be offered. In the bazaars at Tripoli, I have frequently seen very fine ones, brought from the Desert, sold for 40 or 50 dollars a-piece. All have long tails, and are entire; but, in consequence of their being mounted when too young, their backs are hollow, and their hind quarters appear higher than the fore. Colts of twelve months are frequently seen staggering beneath the weight of a heavy man, his arms, water-skin, and food. A light mane and tail on a chesnut horse is considered unlucky; the colour, though common, is not much admired." (P. 41—47.)

On the return of our travellers to Tripoli, they found that Mukni had abandoned his intention of sending a military force into the interior. They now prepared for their expedition; but their funds were scanty, and still further diminished by the advance of 300 dollars for articles purchased at Malta for Mukni. "Such," says Mr. Ritchie, "was the inauspicious state of our affairs, when we set out on our hazardous journey; determined at all events that, however unpromising in its commencement, its failure should not be attributed to our want of zeal in the service we had undertaken." At length, on the 25th March, the Kafflé, consisting of about 200 men, and as many camels, proceeded on their journey. Amongst the followers of the caravan were several parties of liberated blacks, joyful at the idea of revisiting their native land, though with slender means of support; many of them, with their young children, having to walk a distance of 2000 miles! With the female portion of this motley association was a *very fat and beautiful woman*, the wife of Sheikh Barood, director of the Kafflé, and manager of Mukni's affairs. As it enables us to form a judgment of the *το καλον* in Africa, we insert our author's description of this interesting beauty.

"A boy, who accompanied us from Tripoli, came to me full of the praises of the fat wife of Sheikh Barood, who, he said, was the most beautiful creature he had ever seen, and so fat that she could scarcely walk; her arm is as big as my body, continued he, and she says she should like to see you. Such a hint was not to be rejected, and I therefore paid her a visit, the boy acting as my interpreter. On my requesting to be favoured with a view of her face, she readily gratified me. Her chin, the tip of her nose, and the space between her eyebrows, were marked with black lines; her neck, arms, and legs, were covered with tattooed flowers, circles, the names of God, and of her numerous male friends. Her skirt was of striped silk, and she had a rich purple silk mantle gracefully thrown over her, and fastened at the

breast with a gold pin, with ornaments of the same metal suspended from it: all the other finery she possessed was displayed round the tent, whilst a multitude of poor thin wretches, resembling witches, sat round her in astonishment, never having in their lives seen such a paragon of perfection. Like all other Arabs, they touched whatever most pleased them, so that our poor belle was sometimes poked by a dozen of fingers at once; all, however, agreeing that *she was beautifully fat*; and, I must say, I never before saw such a mass of human flesh. I was received graciously, and one of the first questions she asked me was, if in my country the ladies were as fat and handsome as herself." (P. 61—63.)

The incidents of a journey over the Desert, it may be easily imagined, are not varied. On the 9th of April, they encountered a strong siroc at the Wadcy (a valley where shrubs or other vegetation grows), where they pitched their tents. The sand flew about in such quantities, that they could not see 30 yards. Mukni advised them to strip to their shirts, as the best mode of withstanding the sand-showers. A coloured lithographic engraving accompanies this description, which represents, in a striking manner, the horrors of the scene.

On the 11th they arrived at Sockna, on the frontier of Fezzan. The town stands on an immense plain of gravel, bounded to the south by the Soudah mountains at 15 miles; by those of Wadan at about 30, and a distant range to the west and north. It contains 2000 persons; the streets are narrow, and the houses built of mud. The water is brackish or bitter. In its vicinity are 200,000 date trees, which pay a duty. They grow in a belt of sand, and are of a quality far superior to any produced in Northern Africa. The flies are so numerous that every body carries a flapper, made of bunches of wild bulls' hair tied to a short stick. The people of Sockna speak a language peculiar to themselves, which Capt. Lyon conjectures to be the original Breber tongue. Mukni received his tribute in person at this place, and, for that purpose, was surrounded by Arabs from morning till evening. As soon as the business of one party is adjusted, a prayer is recited, and another party enters. They make considerable difficulty about paying their tribute, but their complaints are speedily silenced by the sudden exclamation of "The Fattha," (or first chapter of the Koran), in which every one joins; and this is the sign for the poor wretches to retire.

An excursion to Hoon and Wadan, on which our travellers accompanied Yussuf, the young son of Mukni, to receive his tribute from those districts, enabled them to collect a few interesting facts. The natives of Wadan are Arabs of the tribe *Moajer*, and a large proportion of them descendants of the *Moajer*. It is so called from the immense number of buffaloes

to be found there. They have large horns, and bunches of hair hanging from each shoulder, and are very fierce. The country abounds also with ostriches. Capt. Lyon notices a circumstance relative to the incubation of these animals, not generally known. The eggs are not left, it seems, as is vulgarly supposed, to be hatched by the warmth of the sun; but the parent bird forms a rough nest, in which she sits on 14 or 18 eggs, in the same manner as common fowls. The natives carry on a lucrative traffic in their feathers.

The following anecdote will illustrate their treatment of the slaves:—

“During our journey from Tripoli, I had observed a poor slave, of about 50 years of age, so fatigued as to be scarcely able to follow. He was quite emaciated, and his feet and legs much swelled. His inhuman master invariably sent him in that deplorable state to attend the camels, and he only brought them back to commence another sad day's journey, during which he was frequently beaten. On arriving at Sockna, his master beat him severely, though he was in a high fever. This unnecessary barbarity induced me to interfere in behalf of the miserable sufferer; but my endeavouring to prove that the poor black was a human creature as well as his master, exposed me to much laughter and contempt. I pursued my point, however, and went to Mukni's chief black, swearing by the Sultan's head that he should instantly punish the master of the slave. He immediately complied, and the wretch received a pretty severe bastinado.” (P. 78, 79:)

The latitude of Sockna is brought by Capt. Lyon to 23° 5' 36" north. On the 22d of April, the Kafilé proceeded from that town. Upon entering the territory of Fezzan, they presented their bouzafer, a distribution of meat, among the Arabs by all travellers on that occasion, and attended with ceremonies similar to those practised on crossing the line. On this desolate march they observed no appearance of vegetation, but found many entire skeletons of animals which had died on the desert. It seems that putrefaction does not take place in bodies dried by the heat of the sun, nor was the slightest smell perceived in the carcasses of animals recently dead. From the excessive dryness of the air, the blankets and barracans emitted electric sparks, and crackled upon being rubbed. The same effect was observed in the horses' tails as they moved them to beat off the flies. During these severe journeys, the little children of the liberated negroes walked the whole of the day, their heads shorn and exposed to the heat of a raging sun. On the 4th of May, the Kafilé approached the palm groves and gardens of Morzouk, which they entered in great pomp.

They had been thirty-nine days from Tripoli, the whole road being through a dreary desert with few wells, and of those the water was salt: their travelling pace was a walk. At noon,

if they could find a tree, they stopped under it; if not, they sat under the shadow of their horses. The Sultan was victualler, and distributed his bread, or dates, or the remainder of his dinner. Each had then a small portion; and after eating, and drinking a few mouthfuls of water, stretched himself out, and slept till the camels came up. During these rests, the camels still went on, and the poor negroes, with their wives and children, plodded on over a burning soil, sometimes for twenty hours. A poor old man, totally blind, arrived in safety at Morzouk; he had walked the whole way over the rocks and plains, led by his wife, kept alive only by the hope of once more hearing the voices of his countrymen. At night, they contrived to stop in some spot where there were bushes for the camels to browse upon. When they pitched their tents, they placed their bales and chests, so as to form a shelter from the winds of the Desert, which Capt. Lyon describes as being singularly awful during the stillness of the night. Not only are these winds excessively hot and dry, but they are so impregnated with sand, that the air is darkened, and the sun scarcely seen: the eyes become red and inflamed, the lips and the skin parched and chapped, and a severe pain is experienced in the chest.

At Morzouk, Mukni repaid them the 300 dollars, and was liberal of promises and professions: they were obliged, however, from the lowness of their finances, to practise the most painful economy. The town is walled, and contains about 2500 inhabitants, who are negroes, and, unlike the Arab tribes, are stationary. The houses are generally mud, and of one story: many palms grow in the town. The castle, where the Sultan resides, is an immense mud building eighty or ninety feet high; it has no pretensions to regularity, and, in consequence of the immense thickness of the walls, the apartments are small. The best and most airy part is occupied by the women, whose apartments surround a large court, where they take exercise, cook, and perform other domestic offices: they are called Kibere (great ladies), and are six in number, being the females of the Sultan's family, or those who were formerly favourites; besides these, he has fifty young women, all black and comely, guarded by five eunuchs, who keep up their authority by occasionally beating them. The entrance of the castle is by a long winding passage in the wall, quite dark and steep. At the door is a large shed, looking on a square space, capable of containing 300 men closely huddled together. Here is kept the great chair of state, with a patchwork quilt thrown over it, in which the Sultan receives homage every Friday after returning from the mosque.

Our author was attacked by a severe dysentery, which re-

duced him to the last extremity; and at this time their party were miserably poor, having merely money enough to purchase a little corn to keep them alive. Meat was a luxury wholly out of their reach. No sooner was Capt. Lyon convalescent, than Mr. Ritchie fell sick of a bilious fever accompanied with delirium: they were unable to purchase nourishing or refreshing viands for him. The Sultan's treacherous plans to distress them became every day more apparent, and they could find no one to buy their goods: for six weeks they did not taste animal food; their horses became mere skeletons, and Belford emaciated and deaf.

In this deplorable condition, Capt. Lyon's confidence in the mercy of a kind Providence did not desert him; and, as Belford gradually gained strength, they nursed and attended by turns their sick companion, performing for him the most servile offices. Their servants forsook them in their distress, carrying off with them their little store of rice and cuscussou. Rhamadan was announced on the 23d of June, when the strictest fast commenced; and while it lasts, to eat or drink, or even to smoke, or smell perfume, between the rising and setting of the sun, is considered as a profanation. At this time the heat was 128 by Farenheit: and during this period they were obliged to eat by stealth; yet, amidst all this penury and destitution, they found two real friends in the persons of Mohammed El Lizari, and Yussuf his brother, the sons of a deceased Mameluke. These good men ministered to them the kindest and most disinterested offices in their distressed and starving state.

Mukni never offered the least assistance to poor Ritchie during his illness beyond a quart of rice, when that article was unusually scarce, on which the poor invalid dined for eight days. The fact was, that he wished them all to die, that he might seize their property. Their rate of living was now reduced to one saa, or quart of corn *per diem*, with a few dates occasionally amongst four of them. Through the intrigues of Mukni they were prevented from disposing of their merchandise, for which no one ventured to make an offer.

The following description of the arrival of a Kafflé from Bornou, with a large number of slaves, is truly distressing.

"We rode out to meet the great Kafflé, and to see them enter the town; it was, indeed, a piteous spectacle. These poor oppressed beings were so exhausted as to be scarcely able to walk; they were borne down with loads of fire-wood; and even poor little children, worn to skeletons, were obliged to bear their burdens, while their inhuman masters rode on camels, with the dreaded whip suspended from their wrists, with which they enforced obedience from their captives.

Gare, however, was taken that the hair of the females should be arranged in nice order, and that their bodies should be well oiled, while the males were closely shaven to give them a good appearance as they entered the town. The Tibboo, who bring the slaves from Bornou, do not trade to Soudan on account of the distance; but exchange their slaves for horses, which they sell to great advantage in the interior. A fine horse will, in the negro country, sell for ten or fifteen negroes, each of which, at the Barbary ports, is worth from 80 to 150 dollars. All the traders speak of slaves as farmers do of cattle. Those recently brought from the interior were fattening, in order that they might be able to go on to Tripoli, Benghazi, or Egypt: thus, a distance of 1600 or 1800 miles is to be traversed from the time that these poor creatures are taken from their homes, during which time they may perhaps be doomed to pass through the hands of eight or ten masters, who treat them well or ill according to their pleasure. These devoted victims fondly hoping that each new purchaser may be the last, find, perhaps, that they have again to commence a journey equally long and dreary, with that they have just finished, under a burning sun with new companions, but with the same miseries." (P. 120—122.)

Capt. Lyon collected much information from the Bornou traders respecting that country, which he has detailed at considerable length. We must be permitted, however, to question the accuracy of these oral communications, which, from the geographical ignorance of the narrators, and the loose habits of computation of relative distances and situations, always observable amongst unlettered tribes, are entitled to credit only when they receive confirmation from more intelligent testimonies. Of the course of the Niger, therefore, our author, with a prudent diffidence of this species of authority, refrains from giving an opinion; but we consider the question, as to the direction in which it runs, no longer obscure. It has been satisfactorily ascertained by Park that its course is from west to east: this, also, was the opinion of Herodotus; and though many modern geographers have dissented from the theory, yet the father of history is supported by the authoritative names of D'Anville and Rennell. The statements collected by Capt. Lyon give it also this direction. The more interesting question, which has divided the opinions of mankind for more than 2000 years, as to the termination of the Niger, must still remain a topic of speculation and conjecture.

It sufficiently appears, however, amongst other facts imparted to our traveller by the African traders, that the large tract of country called Bornou, which has been so incorrectly laid down by geographers, is about forty days' journey, or 700 miles south of Fezzan. It is bounded on the east by Baghermi, on the west by Kano, and on the north by Kanem. The country south of

Bornou is never visited, and must be considered at present as a *terra incognita*. The contradictions respecting its chief town, Birnie, are accounted for by Capt. Lyon, who states, that formerly the merchants computed their distances from the old town, but that more recent traders make the new town the point of their admeasurements; that the old town is now almost deserted, having suffered much from the invasions of the inhabitants of the Fellâta who carry off the natives; and that for that reason it was determined to build a more central city at a greater distance from that hostile vicinity. It appears also, that the river Tsâd, after it leaves Birnie, is called indiscriminately the Gambarro and the Nil.

Tombuctoo is about ninety days from Morzouk. From the verbal accounts of it which he was enabled to collect from the traders, it seems *that it is by no means a large town*. It is walled; the houses are low, and the streets irregular. The immense population attributed to it, he thus accounts for.

"Many of the Kaffés from Morocco, Tripoli, and the negro states along the banks of the Nil, remain there during the rainy season, or till their goods are sold. During their stay they build huts or houses to shelter themselves and their merchandize. These buildings are got up in a few days, and thus, perhaps, 10 or 15,000 inhabitants may, in the course of a month, be added to the population, which occasions Tombuctoo to be thought an immense town by those who are only there at the same time with other strangers; but when the causes which detain the travellers cease, the place appears insignificant. Thus it is that the accounts of it differ so much." (P. 145.)

Here the river Nil, or Niger, is broad, and *flows slowly from the west*. • It runs from Tombuctoo, through Melli, in the country of the Fellâta, thence to Fendab, and passes the kingdom of Kashna, thirteen days south of its capital. It again appears at Kattagum, four days WSW. of new Birnie, where it runs into a lake, called the Tsâd. Beyond this lake, a large river runs through Baghermi, and is again called the Nil. "Thus far," says our author, "are we able to trace the Nil, and all other accounts are merely conjectural. *All agree, however, that by one route or other, these waters join the great Nile of Egypt, to the southward of Dorgola.*"

Half the population on the banks of the Nil are Moslems, half Pagan. The Moslems have much more superstition, and are more ignorant than the poor negroes upon whom they prey.

"In justice to these unenlightened beings," observes our author, "I must say that I never witnessed such innocence, tenderness, and mildness, as most of them evince, when brought to Morzouk, particularly at the death of any of their companions in adversity. On these occasions, they do not, like their persecutors, scream and make



an insincere wailing, but sit silent, and in tears, and often refuse their little allowance of food. Should one of the females fall sick, the others nurse, feed, comfort, and often give up the whole of their scanty meal to the sufferer. I speak merely of the women, for the men are not blessed with very kind hearts." (P. 140.)

Our travellers had every day additional reasons to suspect, and take precautions against Mukni. Their exchequer became in the mean time more scanty, and not unfrequently they passed a whole day without food. In this extremity the good offices of one of their friends were not withheld.

"One night, as we were all pensively sitting on our mat, our friend Yussuf came in, and said: 'Mukni has behaved to you as he has done to us, and hopes that you may die, that he may secure your property. You seem melancholy; do you want money?' Mr Ritchie having acknowledged that he did, and having named twenty dollars as the sum required, Yussuf rejoined, 'I have not that sum, but I will go and borrow it for you.' Our kind friend went out, and soon after returned, bringing us thirty! an act of generosity so unlooked for, that we were unable to thank him as he deserved. This supply enabled us to buy good food, and to make some amends for our late privations." (P. 183.)

Our readers will participate the regret with which we read the following unaffected but touching relation of poor Ritchie's death.

"On the 8th of November, 1819, Mr. Ritchie being again attacked by illness, I much wished him to allow of my selling some of our powder to procure him a few comforts; but to this he would not consent. On the ninth I also fell ill, and was confined to my bed; and Belford, though himself an invalid, attended on us both. After lying in a torpid state for three or four days, without taking any nourishment, or even speaking to us, Mr. Ritchie became worse, and at last delirious, as in his former illnesses. In the interval, my disorder having abated, I was enabled to rally a little, and to attend my poor suffering companion.

"After he had somewhat recovered his intellect, he appeared very anxious to know whether any letters had arrived, announcing to us a further allowance of money from government; but when I, unfortunately, was obliged to reply in the negative, he avoided all comment on the subject. He would not drink any tea, of which we had still some remaining; but preferred vinegar and water, our only acid, which he drank in great quantities. Being entirely free from pain, he flattered himself that he should, in a day or two, recover, particularly as he was not at all emaciated, but rather stouter than he had been for some months previous to his illness. On the 20th we got a fowl, of which we made a little soup for him; and while he was taking it, a man came in and told me a courier had arrived from Tripoli with letters. I went out, but returned, to my sad disappointment, empty handed, the

man having no dispatches for us. The broth which Mr. Ritchie drank was the first nourishment he had taken for ten days, though we had used all our endeavours to prevail on him to eat. He seemed to breathe with difficulty; but as I had often observed this during his former maladies, I was not so much alarmed as I should otherwise have been. At about nine o'clock, Belford, on looking at him, exclaimed in a loud voice, 'he is dying!' I begged him to be more cautious, lest he should be overheard, and immediately examined Mr. Ritchie, who appeared to me to be still in a profound sleep; I therefore lay down on my bed, and continued listening. At ten I rose again, and found him lying in an easy posture, and breathing more freely: five minutes however had scarcely elapsed, before his respiration appeared entirely to cease; and, on examination, I found that he had actually expired, without a pang or groan, in the same position in which he had fallen asleep.

"Belford and myself, in our weak state, looked at each other, expecting that in a few days it might probably be our lot to follow our lamented companion, whose sad remains we watched during the remainder of the night; and now, for the first time, in all our distresses, my hopes did indeed fail me. Belford, as well as he was able, hastened to form a rough coffin out of our chests; and a sad and painful task it was. The washers of the dead came to us to perform their melancholy office, and Mr. Ritchie's body was washed, perfumed, and rubbed with camphor; and I procured some white linnen, with which the grave clothes were made. During our preparations for the burial, the women, who are always hired to cry at the death of persons, whose friends are able to pay them, proposed to perform that disgusting office at our house; but I would not allow it, and very unceremoniously shut the door against them. While I was out of sight, either our servant, or some of our officious visitors, stole several of our effects, and I clearly saw that we were now considered as lawful plunder. The coffin being completed, I hired men to carry it with ropes, but one of them having suddenly gone away, poor Belford was obliged to take his place; when, attended by our small party of Mamlukes, we proceeded at a quick pace to the grave, at about ten o'clock. The clay below the sand was white, which was considered as a good omen; and Belford and myself threw the first earth into the grave. During the night, we had, unknown to the people, read our Protestant burial service over the body; and now publicly recited the first chapter of the Koran, which the most serious Christian would consider as a beautiful and applicable prayer on such an occasion.

"Having thus performed the last sad duties to our unfortunate friend, we returned home to pass a day of misery. It was necessary to distribute food to the poor, who surrounded our door in great numbers, and we had no money even to purchase a morsel for ourselves. Yusuf's kindness again supplied our wants, and I succeeded in getting the house a little more quiet. Within an hour after the funeral had taken place, a courier arrived from Tripoli, bringing a truly welcome letter, announcing that a further allowance of 1000*l.* had been made by our government towards the expense of the mission. Had this

letter reached us a little sooner, many of our troubles and distresses would have been prevented." (P. 189—193.)

The untimely death of this excellent young man; the delay that must necessarily ensue before the additional grant of 1000*l.* could have been procured from Tripoli; the inadequacy of that sum to the exigencies of an expedition into the African interior, and the unfitness of their merchandize to the markets of that continent, rendered it necessary for Capt. Lyon to return to England. In the mean while, he determined to make a short excursion into the country south of Fezzan. We cannot follow our indefatigable and enterprising traveller upon this excursion, and must content ourselves with a few extracts from those parts of his Narrative, which impart what we conceive to be curious and interesting notices concerning this remote and unfrequented region.

Their adoption, it seems, of the Moorish costume, was not of itself a sufficient protection in the interior. They found it necessary also to conform to all the duties of the Mohammedan religion. Without this precaution, their lives would have been in continual jeopardy. When they attended the Mosque, they made use of what orisons they pleased, taking particular care only that their outward observances should be at the proper times.

Our author throws out a suggestion which, as it may tend, though by a remote operation, to mitigate the dreadful evils of the slave-trade in the interior, well deserves the serious attention of those who take the lead in this great work of beneficence.

"Mukni's military force amounts to about 5000 men. There are no wars in which he is called upon to engage, but his love of gain, and the defenceless state of the Negro kingdom to the southward, are temptations too strong to be resisted. A force is, therefore, annually sent, not to fight, (for the Negroes cannot make any resistance against horsemen with fire arms) but to pillage these defenceless people, to carry them off as slaves, burn their towns, *kill the aged and infants*, destroy their crops, and inflict on them every possible misery. The wars thus made, for the purpose of carrying off slaves, are called *Ghrāzzie*. No *Barbary* or Negro chief, or indeed any of their people, are able to resist a bribe; much might therefore be done by securing the good will of the Sultans of the interior kingdoms; and they might, by presents properly applied, form together such a barrier against the inroads of Mukni, as would enable them to secure their independence, and prevent the annual seizure of myriads of their subjects. Though amongst themselves, slavery might, (and doubtless would) exist; yet it would not, with such arrangements, extend so far as it does at present.

The blacks alone, in consequence chiefly of Mukni's incursions, are always engaged in indemnifying themselves for the losses he occasions them. All their prisoners are sold as slaves; and the money or goods arising from such sale appropriated chiefly by the kings of the country." (P. 281, 282.)

Capt. Lyon penetrated to the most southern point of Fezzan, in latitude  $24^{\circ} 4'$  north, (Tegerry) inhabited by the Tbbob tribe, of whom he has given many curious details. The general aspect of this country is that of extreme sterility, and there are only three springs in this immense track. There is no vegetation, except a few prickly bushes for camels, called Agoul, and a few trees of the mimosa species, called Talhh. It is only in the immediate vicinity of the towns that palms are cultivated, and a small quantity of corn and esculents raised with the utmost difficulty. Nothing is more incorrect than the opinion so generally prevalent, of the fertility of the Oases. The toil requisite to keep the ground irrigated, deters the unhappy husbandman from forming a garden beyond an acre in extent. Soda, rock salt, alum, gypsum, saltpetre, are found in Fezzan. The animals are the tiger-cat, hyæna, jackal, wadan or buffalo, antelope, guntsha of the rat species and resembling a badger, gerboa, and the maherry (the herie of travellers) or running camel, horse, ass; but cows, sheep, and goats are scarce. There are only two dogs, of the greyhound species. Vegetable productions are various, and chiefly those which are found in Egypt; the fruits are—grapes, which grow near the wells, pomegranates, melons, figs, and corna, a small round fruit, like an apple in form, though not larger than a nut. Mr. Ritchie conjectured it to be the rhamnus or lotus.

On their journey to Tripoli, our traveller had an opportunity of observing how water is procured from the belly of a camel which died on the route. The quantity obtained is sometimes sufficient to satisfy the thirst of an almost perishing khafflé. It is taken from the false stomach, as it is called, which contains the water and the food previous to its digestion, and strained through a cloth. It is bitter in taste, but a considerable relief to those who are obliged to have recourse to it. A faint conception of the agony of thirst in these sultry marches may be framed from Capt. Lyon's own sufferings.

"I was so ill on our march this morning, as to be under the necessity of stopping, with the camel I rode, and of lying on the ground. I suffered much agony, and the most intolerable thirst; to assuage which, the kind Arab who remained with me, went about two miles back on his road to bring me water. He was so long absent, that I despaired of his return; my fever each moment increased, and my thirst became so excessive, that, observing my camel making water,

I attempted to reach him, to avail myself of a resource which, under any other circumstances, would have filled me with disgust. At that moment I perceived the trusty Arab advancing towards me. Those only who have experienced the agonies of suspense, or the torments of thirst, can conceive my sensations, when he brought me the wished-for beverage; which, though only dirty water in a goat-skin, I thought delicious." (P. 339.)

Upon the whole, we have perused with much pleasure, mixed as it has been with feelings of a melancholy kind, this simple and unembellished narrative. It belongs to that class of writing, of which the only praise is that of exactness and fidelity, How much superior to those books of travels, the descriptions of which consist, for the most part, either of truths heightened by rhetorical painting into falsehood, or of falsehood so tricked and coloured as to resemble truth! Every page of it bears attestation to the unexaggerated correctness of Capt. Lyon's details, and the honest and unaffected warmth of his sentiments. He laboured with unwearyed zeal and enthusiasm to effect the purposes of an expedition inauspiciously commenced, and prosecuted through impediments and dangers, which it required extraordinary firmness to encounter; and though he failed in the ultimate object of his researches, his diligence has enabled him to collect a large mass of interesting and profitable facts, which will be of inestimable value to those who may succeed him in his arduous enterprize.

ART. X.—*A Dissertation, showing the Identity of the Rivers Niger and Nile, chiefly from the Authority of the Ancients.*  
By John Dudley, M. A. Vicar of Humberston and Sileby.  
8vo. London, 1821.

As Capt. Lyon has noticed the great problem which is at present as much the object of perplexed speculation, as it was in the time of Herodotus,—what and where are the sources of the Nile?—we here subjoin a short view of Mr. Dudley's learned dissertation. We cannot indeed follow him in his journeyings over this mystic region, but as the theory accords with the information collected by Capt. Lyon from the African traders, respecting the course of the Niger, and as there seems, amongst the most intelligent of our modern travellers, a remarkable unanimity concerning the identity of the Niger and the Nile, we could not pass by the learned reasonings of this little tract without taking a rapid survey of them.

The conclusions of the Arabian geographers in the seventh and eighth centuries, concerning the Niger and the Nile, were

very erroneous. They affirmed that both rivers (to which they gave the same common name, the Nile), issued from the same lake; but that the Nile of the Negroes flowed westward, till it entered the Atlantic Ocean. - The accounts, however, of the ancient poets and historians, are at direct variance with these statements, and conspire to prove that these rivers are not distinct, but one and the same. To this opinion, resting on the faith of ancient testimonies, Mr. Dudley zealously inclines, and confidently anticipates the confirmation of it, when the African continent shall have been sufficiently explored. He begins with Homer, who mentions the sources of a river (*Ὠκεανός*) in the country of the Æthiopians, and it seems that, with the ancient Greek writers, *ocean* means any large river. The Æthiopians mentioned by the father of poetry, as his writings abundantly testify, could be no others than the negro inhabitants of the western regions of Africa, where recent discoveries have ascertained that the sources of the Niger are to be found. The Egyptians personified Ocean under the name of Osiris, and, according to Diodorus, the Nile had the name of Oceanus in the most ancient times.

The learned dissertator then essays to establish the ancient geographical position of Æthiopia; and deals profusely in authorities to show that, in the time of Homer, the river *Ocean*, which the poet, in its lower course, calls *Egyptus*, and which is now the Nile, flowed through Lybia, the country of the Æthiopians, the western Negroes of Africa. In addition to the testimony of Homer, in support of the identity of the Nile and the Niger, Mr. Dudley cites Æschylus, who, in the *Prometheus Vinc-tus*, represents the sage, while chained to the rock, describing prophetically to the unhappy Io the wide extent of her wanderings, and, in tracing her way over the African continent, speaks of the "river Æthiops," by the banks of which she is directed to keep,

——— until thou comest  
To that descent, where from Byblinian heights,  
The Nile pours down its sacred stream.

Hence he presumes the continuity of the streams of Niger and Nile; for the course of the Æthiops not being traced farther than as it falls from Byblinian heights, which, as the scholiast remarks, are so called, because the Nile and the Niger both abound in the *papyrus*, those heights must be those cataracts of the Nile, of which ancient writers never fail to speak, though almost unknown to modern travellers. The Æthiops of Æschylus, therefore, is the Libyan Niger.

From Æschylus, Mr. Dudley passes to Herodotus, who,

though professing to be ignorant of the sources of the Nile, correctly described the course of the Niger, when he affirmed that the Nile passed through and intersected the whole of Lybia. Park's discoveries have clearly shown that the Niger is the only river which can be said to divide Libya in the midst. Hence, according to Herodotus, the Niger was considered as the upper stream of the Nile. We must omit all notice of the learned speculations of our author, respecting the Hyperboreans, and the lake Tritonis, into which the waters of the Lybian Nile or Niger are received. Dionysius, the poet, in the age of Augustus, gives a positive account of the sources of the Nile, in the country of the Blemyæ, Æthiopians near the western shores of Africa. He considers the passage decisive of the question. We therefore subjoin the translation of it.

The Æthiopians, the last of men,  
Pasture the continent's remotest lands,  
'Fore these up towers the sun-burnt Blemyan's height,  
Whence fall the waters of all fertile Nile,  
Who, while he eastward winds his Libyan course,  
Is Siris named. But they of far Syene  
Change, when his stream is turn'd, the name to Nile.  
From thence, as northward spreads his varying way,  
Through seven mouths roll'd, he glides into the sea,  
Egypt's fat plain enriching as he flows.

Dionys. Perieg. v. 217. —

"Whoever," says our author, "may compare this short but complete testimony, with the modern reports of Park, concerning the Joliba, or Niger, will be surprised at their perfect agreement. The testimony of Park is this:—The Niger rises among the mountains of the Mandingoes and Fooladoes, (the Blemyæ of the ancients). The western scarpe of these mountains pours down into the Atlantic, the rivers Senegal, Gambia, and Rio Grande; but the eastern descents produce the streams which, uniting into one, compose the modern Niger. This he traced along its course eastward for about 300 miles. He learned that, lower down, it passed not far from Tombuctoo, beyond which he could gain no intelligence of its course." (Dissertation, p. 40.)

Having noticed the testimonies of Pliny and Pausanias (both of which appear to us to be at variance with his theory), Mr. Dudley inquires what were the opinions of the Egyptians themselves concerning the rivers in question, and concludes from the uniform concurrence of the opinions of the ancients concerning the Niger, that is, the Nile of Western Æthiopia or Libya, and the Nile of Egypt, that there was even a superfluity of proof that these rivers are one; and by far the most ingenious part of his tract is that in which he has laboured to remove the objections to his theory, arising from

the obscurity of some ancient terms used by the authors he cites, and to reconcile their apparent discrepancies. It is thus that he combats the opinion which he contends to be modern, that the Niger flows with a westward current, and discharges itself into the Atlantic,—the hypothesis of El Edrisi, the Nubian geographer, a name of great authority in all matters respecting African topography, who expressly says (a position adopted by Bruce), that the Nile of the Negroes runs westward into the Atlantic, and that it takes its rise from the same lakes in Abyssinia as the Nile of Egypt.

“ Now in this it is to be remarked, that the Nile of the Negroes is not said to flow from or through Libya, but from Abyssinia, which being to the south of Libya, it follows that this Nile, were it the Niger, must flow northward, for at least some part of its course, before it reaches Libya. But such a supposition is wholly destitute of any support whatever. Again, the Niger does not rise in Abyssinia, but in Western Africa: the Nile, therefore, of the Negroes cannot be the Niger or Nile of Libya, but some other river wholly distinct from that celebrated river, and wholly unknown to the ancients. Such a stream is now known in the river Zaire or Congo river, which rises in regions, at least in the vicinity of Abyssinia, but south of the Equator, and discharges an immense volume of water into the Atlantic, in latitude 6° south. This river, it should seem, is the *Nile of the Negroes*, to distinguish it from the Nile of Egypt, and as is here contended, from the Nile of Libya also, one and the same with the Egyptian Nile. The reason also why *El Edrisi* should have adopted this form of distinction is equally obvious. A Nile flowing from Abyssinia westward must pass through countries inhabited by Negroes only; a circumstance which renders the term ‘Nile of the Negroes’ peculiarly applicable to the Zaire: and the river in question would be called the Nile from the great resemblance it bears to the Nile of Egypt in the annual inundations which take place with great regularity, are of great extent, and modern travellers, who have observed the Congo river affirm, are occasioned by rains falling on distant mountains, from whence they flow and inundate other countries like Egypt. These circumstances will serve to remove the perplexities arising from accounts affirming that the Niger, or in other terms, the Nile, flows westward into the Atlantic. (P. 89—92.)

Mr. Dudley thus sums up the practical tendencies of his hypothesis:

“ To escape from error is the surest way to the attainment of truth. The expectation of the existence of two distinct rivers, the Libyan Niger, and the Nile of the Negroes, will serve to guide aright the endeavours of ingenious research in the full discovery of both. It will suggest to the explorer of Libyan Africa, the propriety of taking his course from the neighbourhood of the ancient Syene, perhaps from Tripoli, in his search of the lower course of the Niger or Libyan



Nile. In this, he will follow the track of the Argonauts of Apollonius, the Nasamones of Herodotus, and the caravans which now pass occasionally from Tripoli to Tombuctoo. In his travels to discover the Nile or Niger of the Negroes, the daring explorer will probably endeavour to avail himself of the advice and protection of the newly known monarch of the Ashantee Negroes, whose empire may be reasonably supposed to extend to the banks of the Zaire, though not likely to reach the Niger of Libya. To pass directly to different points of the Niger and the Zaire will be more likely to enable Europeans to obtain full accounts of them, than unscientific and almost impracticable attempts to ascend or descend the streams of either. To ascend the Zaire was lately a work of waste to the health, strength, and lives of the adventurers. The attempt to descend the Joliba, or Niger, proved fatal to Park, who in all probability was lost in one of the rapids of that river. At all events, it cannot but be very honourable to our national character, to avail ourselves of the wisdom and information of other times; nor can there be a better application of learning, than that by which the experience of past ages is rendered subservient to useful knowledge." (P. 93—95.)

We have thus concisely analyzed Mr. Dudley's argument. For ourselves, we preserve an undisturbed neutrality upon the question. In a critical journal, the speculations of learned and ingenious men upon literary or scientific subjects cannot be wholly overlooked, even when they bring but small advantage to the substantial interests of literature or science. In another point of view, and considered in relation to the history of the human mind, they illustrate at once the strength and weakness of its powers—their strength in building compact and coherent structures of reasoning upon imperfect data; their weakness, in leaving the subjects, on which so much learned toil is expended, as obscure and uncertain as they found them.

**ART. XI.—***An Autumn near the Rhine, or, Sketches of Courts, Society, and Scenery in Germany; with a Tour in the Taurus Mountains in 1820. Second Edition. To which are now added, Translations from Schiller, Goethe, and other German Poets. 8vo. Murray. London, 1821.*

WE should feel some regret at not having sooner introduced this very agreeable book to the attention of our readers, if the author had not furnished us with an excellent apology, in the improved state in which he has now presented it to the public. The alterations and additions are so numerous, that the book, in its present form, may be regarded as a new publication. Our tardiness, therefore, has been in this case some-

what fortunate; since we have now before us a work much more rich and complete in matter, as well as perfect in execution, than it was in its first and original form.

"The Autumn on the Rhine" has not had the honour of appearing, according to the existing etiquette of fashionable travellers, in a magnificent quarto; it has not availed itself of the charms of engravings, or even of the humbler aid of the lithographic art; it is not enriched with the pillage of itineraries, almanacks, and those innumerable guide books, which, retailing out topography in an endless variety of shapes, are bought by some travellers as a cheap substitute for a *laquais de place*, and by others as an easy means of manufacturing volumes for the English market; it is so poor in statistic details, which, as they give the show of knowledge without the trouble of thinking, are in great vogue at the present day, that it does not tell us how many bushels of potatoes or wheat are grown, or how many hogsheads of wine are produced, or how many pounds of silk or cotton are manufactured, in any one of the districts here described;—it is moreover sadly deficient in philosophical profoundness of reasoning, for it is every where easy to be understood; and it does not even flatter the reader with the pleasing idea of mentally traversing a vast extent of country, for it carries us only from Wirtemberg to Bonne, and seldom wanders more than a few miles from the banks of the Rhine. Yet, in spite of all these deviations from, or rather offences against, the approved rules for manufacturing books of travels, it has reached, and that, too, deservedly, a second edition. The qualities, which have recommended it to the public, are not difficult to be discovered. Though the author has confined himself to a narrow extent of ground, he has seen well all that he has seen; he has travelled much, though not over many provinces. He leads us more into the society of the country than is done by the generality of our travellers; and, instead of abstract speculations on the social manners of Germany, he places us in the midst of circles of individuals. As he chooses his topics well, so he diversifies them skilfully. We pass from the glories of nature to the elegance of a court, which we soon exchange for the intercourse of some private society: we are at one time amused by conversational anecdotes and sketches, and then our imagination is solaced by the melodious strains of Goethe or Schiller, transfused into our native tongue: the political and social institutions of the country are in their turn presented to our attention, from the contemplation of which we proceed, listening in the mean while to some legend of ancient days, to survey the monuments of feudal times: Attention is thus kept alive, and we escape the tediousness

which always hovers over the pages of the traveller who has eyes and ears for only a single class of objects. To the skilful choice and diversification of his objects, this author adds the merit of a careful observation of the maxim "*ne quid nimis*:" he possesses the art, which Swift deemed one of the rarest—that of knowing when to have done. He is disposed to be pleased with what he sees; and while he cannot approve, instead of throwing out hasty and severe censure, he expresses his sentiments by an indulgent smile or a philosophical reflection. His constant good humour adds to the attractions of his book; for on reading the narrative of a man who is discontented with all that comes in his way, we feel a dissatisfaction similar in kind, though not equal in degree, to that which we experience from travelling in his company. The style, always lively and elegant, is occasionally adorned with very happy and ingenious turns. Such are the merits of this modest volume, when considered with a reference to amusement and taste. It has, however, other claims to attention. Having visited the scenes, and lived with the people it describes, we may be allowed to bear witness, not only to its general accuracy and fidelity, but that it contains more sound information concerning the moral, intellectual, and social state of Germany, than any of the more ponderous and ostentatious books which we have met with.

We have perused with much pleasure that part of this volume which is devoted to German poetry. The reading public of England is in general as unjust to German literature, as the French were half a century ago to our own; and that, too, without half so good an excuse for our errors, as might have been alleged in behalf of the presumptuous criticism of our continental neighbours. As the proudest productions of our national genius were composed on principles and of ingredients unknown in French literature, it was natural that a vain-glorious nation should withhold applause from what was unlike its habitual objects of adoration. But the greatest works of German genius are in unison with our own standards of literary excellence. Unfortunately, however, it has been only by inferior translations of inferior works, that English readers have been made acquainted with German literature. Exaggerated characters, wondrous combinations of events, unnatural sentiments, find admirers every where: works composed of such materials are quite as attractive in translation as in the original: they have accordingly been transfused from German into English; they have obtained a certain degree of popularity, and from these contemptible specimens, judgment has been passed on the whole literature of a country.

It may seem wonderful, that while the works of a writer so inferior as Kotzebue have obtained a considerable degree of popularity in our language, the masterpieces of Wieland, Goethe, and Schiller, have not been naturalized, or even obtained much currency, among us. The true reason of this lies in the very merit which entitles them to our respect. Indifferent works admit of translation; for mediocrity in one language may be maintained or even improved in another; genius can exist in full beauty and vigour only in the atmosphere of its native language. *Wallenstein* is a noble dramatic work. Its effect upon the stage is said to be wonderful. The understanding, the imagination, the taste, the heart, all find in it appropriate exercise and gratification. Mr. Coleridge has translated this magnificent work; and in many parts he has executed his task with felicity as well as skill: yet few have read the translation; not many are so much as aware of its existence. The elegant version of Wieland's *Oberon* has perhaps been more read than any other poetical version from the German: but harmonious and elegant as Mr. Sotheby's work undoubtedly is, the pleasure derived from it is of a totally different kind from that which is imparted by the original.

Though we think it scarcely possible to attain to any eminent success in naturalizing in our language the best productions of German genius, we are inclined to regard with a favourable eye every attempt to accomplish so desirable an end: for even ordinary translations are favourable to the progress of taste and knowledge. By familiarizing the English reader with the matter of foreign authors, they extend his sphere of thought, and bring under his cognizance a tone of reflection and sentiment always differing in some respects from that of his own countrymen. Though he may not enjoy the gratification of taste and feeling arising from the perception of the more delicate beauties in the works of the master-spirits of a foreign land, he will at least be able to trace the hand of the consummate artist; he will see that the stile of execution is not the same with that to which he has been accustomed; and he will be trained to extricate himself from the trammels of prescriptive codes of criticism, and to admire excellence in every form in which it may present itself to him. Another benefit of translations is, that they excite many to study the original works; and it is clearly essential to the prosperity of literature, that the literary portion of society should be inspired and enlightened by a familiarity with the great masters of different times and different countries. We should therefore have felt thankful to the author of the "*Autumn on the Rhine*," for the trans-

lations with which he has diversified his work, even if they had possessed much less than their actual intrinsic merit. His versions are elegant, spirited, harmonious, and faithful. To say that they want the full power of the originals, would be merely to state what is implied in the very nature of the thing; particularly as it is in lyric poetry, the most untranslatable department of German poetry, that he has chosen to try his strength. Most of his versions are from Schiller; three or four from Körner, Schlegel, and Goethe. "The God and the Baiadere" of Goethe exhibits in the original a rich mellifluousness of versification, which is sufficient to deter any translator: our author, however, has grappled with it, and has certainly been extremely successful in clothing it in an English dress.

Our limits will not permit us to indulge in giving any specimens of this author's poetical versions, and we must, therefore, content ourselves with referring our readers to the volume itself. We would, however, especially direct their attention to the translations from Schiller. Passion, and imagination, and deep reflection, have not often spoken in sweeter or more harmoniously combined tones, than in the lyrics of that powerful genius. If German poetry in general has been rightly considered as metaphysical and dreaming, it is not so in Schiller. In him are found pathos and sublimity, without puerility, obscurity, or vagueness of ideas. His conceptions, even in their utmost grandeur, have their limits clearly defined. There is so much truth so well expressed in the following passage (though, so far as respects Goethe, the censure is severe), that it would be unfair to the author, not to direct our readers' attention to it.

"In Schiller the warm vivid interest of the *real* is never lost or obscured in the imaginative splendour of the *ideal*. His poems and plays come home to 'our business and our bosoms.' He gives life to what is visionary, and invests the strong simple impulses of the soul with all the fervour of passion and the glow of poetry. In his classical poems, such as 'The Gods of Greece,' he has almost introduced us to a more familiar acquaintance with the god-like forms of antiquity. He has, as it were, given them letters of denization to inhabit the Teutonic world, and has naturalized the Oreades on the mountains, and the Hamadryads in the forests of the north. Schiller's sensibility is never overpowered by the conceits of his imagination, as is so often the case with Goethe. Schiller is intent on penetrating, and touching us, while Goethe is not satisfied unless he can dazzle and stupify. Goethe, in his disdain of common-place, is often unnatural, dreaming, and absurd. Schiller trusts fearlessly to nature, and when he does 'overstep her modesty,' it is not to indulge in the gratuitous caprices of fancy, but sometimes slightly to exaggerate and overcharge passions and senti-

ments in themselves appropriate and natural. Schiller has, in fact, all the intensity, the unity, the concentration, the depth of dramatic genius—all the earnestness, the power, the sincerity of real feeling. He writes from the heart and to the heart. Goethe perpetually disappoints and trifles with us. Half of his large and his small works are half-finished sketches—wonderful fragments, which stimulate and astonish us with a display of immense undefined power, rather than fill our feelings, or satisfy our intellects. Often too, when he does condescend to finish, the end mocks the commencement—'*desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.*' With a sort of wanton caprice he sometimes plays the will-o-the-wisp with us, and, after drawing after him our whole souls by the enchantment of feeling and of verse, he breaks off with a sort of an incomprehensible half-ironical laugh, leaving his poor deluded readers to wonder what witchcraft has laid hold of them.

"It is curious to observe how the two poets have sometimes treated similar subjects.—Schiller in a little poem, called 'The Youth by the Stream,' represents him sitting on the bank weaving a wreath of flowers, which drop into the water and are whirled down in the eddy. He laments that his life rushes away like the stream, and his youth fades like the flowers. The song of the birds, and the sounds of nature all around, serve to wake the tender sorrows of his bosom; and he calls on his beloved to come down from her proud castle, and he will pour the flowers of spring into her lap. This is very simple, natural, and pretty. Goethe, of the same materials, has made a half silly, half-mystical little poem, called 'The Youth and the Mill-stream.' A dialogue in pretty verse, but lackadaisical and absurd enough in the sense, takes place between the youth and the stream, in which the former makes the latter the *confidant* of his passion for the miller's wife, and the stream informs him that she comes every morning at dawn to bathe her face and bosom in his waters. The stream sympathizes with his grief, and the love-sick youth in departing, charges the water to acquaint the *milleress* with the warmth of his love.

"One of the most graceful and beautiful of Schiller's lesser poems is called 'Expectation,' and describes the feelings of a lover expecting his mistress in a summer evening in a garden. Every sound agitates and disappoints him. The blackbird fluttering disturbed from the thicket—the swan slowly stirring the waters of the lake—the ripe fruit dropping among the leaves, all sound to his fond imagination like the footsteps of his beloved. In the intervals between these alternate hopes and disappointments, he addresses the leafy shades which are soon to be the witnesses of his happiness—he calls on the sun to quench his glaring torch, and the secret beam of Hesperus to appear. Presently the moon rises and silvers over the silent scenes, and his mistress draws near unperceived and surprises him. Goethe would think all this the mere common-place of metrical love—the trite resources of amatory poetry." (P. 218—222.)

The translator has not presented us with the highest specimens of Schiller's lyrical genius; at least we should not hesitate to rank *The Gods of Greece*, *The Child-Murderer*, *The Dig-*

nity of Woman, Resignation, and many other pieces, above those which occur in this volume: but the author probably found in his own experience good reasons for his selection. A translator does well to choose,—not that which is best, but that which can be best accommodated to his own language.

The specimens which we have already given of this book prove the author to possess both those habits of reflexion and that competent acquaintance with the literature of the country, which are necessary to enable a traveller to enjoy the conversation, understand the social system, and appreciate the character of its inhabitants. It is, therefore, with considerable confidence, that we follow him into the scenes of real life. The petty states on the banks of the Rhine are among the most interesting subjects of observation in Europe. Sovereigns and courts can there be estimated more easily than elsewhere, because the observer is kept at a less distance, and is less distracted by the multitude and brilliance of the intervening objects: the effects of particular political measures are more easily traced, because the communities are not exposed to the operation of so great a number of modifying causes as more extensive kingdoms. As sketches of manners, we shall quote an account of a court dinner at Darmstadt, and a court evening circle at Baden.

“The Court entertainments at Darmstadt are principally dinners to which invitations are issued with obliging liberality to the nobility and such strangers as have the honour of presentation. The *Fourrier* of the Court visits you in the morning with the hospitable invitation of the Prince, which, of course, it is not seemly to decline. The guests assemble in full dress at the old fashioned hour of two o'clock, in the large and handsome Saloons of the Palace. The Grand Duchess enters with her Ladies of honour and Chamberlains, and after half an hour occupied by her progress round the circle, gracefully addressing appropriate conversation to each individual, the exchange of affectionate kisses, of greeting, between the members of the reigning Family, and of civil speeches between the company, the party proceed, arm in arm, with ceremonious regularity to the spacious dinner Saloon. Here they take their seats in the order of the procession, the Grand Duchess and Court occupying the centre of the table. The table is splendidly covered with gold and silver plate, *ypernas*, *plateaux* and flowers.—The system of a German dinner, which is national, because the same at the table of a Prince and at the *Table d'hôte* of an Inn—being the additional plate and delicacies of the former—would have precisely hit the taste of Justice Greedy, as being admirably contrived for the undisturbed dispatch of the business of a meal. On sitting down you find the board amply covered with dishes—there, merely to afford the eye a preliminary feast. In an instant the servants transport them to the sideboard, from whence they are offered one after an-

other, in prescribed routine, ready carved to the company. In this way the knife and fork are kept in constant occupation, without the awkward interruptions of attention to others, by a succession of from fifteen to five-and-twenty dishes; beginning with invariable soup and *bouilli*, continued by ragouts, made dishes, and *entremets* of various kinds, of course including sausages and sour kroust, summed up with substantial roast meat. Every lady and gentleman have their decanter of light Rhenish or Burgundy before them, which they drink without ceremony; and the more precious wines are handed round in the course of dinner. An attractive neighbour is thus the only possible diversion from the business in hand, which can happen at a German table. The Germans, in fact, dine as might be expected of people who do not breakfast—a meal much out of use with them, and rarely extending beyond a light milk roll, and a cup of coffee." (P. 20—22.)

"The evening circles at the palace are pleasant, and unceremonious. During tea, the Margravine converses affably round the circle with much friendliness; after which, she sits down to her *partie quarrée* with the most distinguished persons present; and the branches and scions of Sovereignty are so multitudinous in Germany, and there is so much visiting among the princely relations, that her Highness's party of Boston rarely wants the éclat of a crowned head or two. The rest of the party follow their own views of amusement, as may either lead them to win or lose a few *kreutzers* at Boston, Whist, or Zwicken—to guess riddles—play at little *jeux de société*—to post their sworded figures against the saloon doors in unoccupied case, or to trust for amusement to a round table of conversation, provided with ladies light works, puzzles, and other needless resources against flagging vivacity. A fair Russian lady—*dame d'honneur* to the Princess Amelia of Baden—whose gaiety and *naïveté* shone by the contrast with the soft tranquillity of the German women, generally gave life to this agreeable coterie." (P. 233, 234.)

The general impression left upon the mind by the numerous sketches contained in this volume, of the manners of the petty courts along the Rhine, and of the personages who principally figure in them, is that of high respect for the virtues and talents of the sovereigns. Nor is it to be supposed, that the author is a blind admirer of royalty. On the contrary, he points out its errors and failings without reserve, and indeed sometimes condemns where no good ground of censure can be established. The great charge against the second-rate princes of Germany, is their repugnance to grant representative constitutions to their subjects. It might well be doubted, whether such a form of government would not, in small states, reduce the executive power to a mere cypher. But putting abstract principles out of the question at present, there are practical reasons more than sufficient to justify the caution of the sovereigns. There do not exist more paternal governments than those of Baden, Gotha,



Weimar, Saxony, and we may add, Darmstadt and Wirtemberg. There is no practical oppression in them. The innovations demanded are not remedies of grievances actually suffered, but fanciful dreams of democratical perfection. The persons, who call for them, deserve no confidence. They are raw boisterous youths, or visionary men of letters, seconded, and often directed, by the now degraded tools of the late imperial oppressor of Europe: for, in Germany as in France, they who now bellow the loudest for what they call liberty, are the very men whose voices swelled above the rest in the full anthem of praise to Napoleon. Is it wonderful, or is it wrong, that princes should not lend a very ready ear to demands of a very dubious nature, made by claimants of so suspicious a character? The sovereign has sometimes proffered concession: in such cases, what has been the result? We cannot, describe what happened in Wirtemberg, under such circumstances, more truly or more concisely than in the words of this author.

"In the constitution proposed by His Majesty, the parliament of the kingdom was to consist of an upper and a lower Chamber. This was violently opposed by the States—by the mediatised Princes, because they were ambitious of forming a separate Chamber, instead of being classed with the other aristocracy—and by the people, because they hoped to give the popular representation a greater ascendancy in one Chamber of commons and nobles. The mediatised Princes were eager to retain their privilege of taxing the inhabitants of their former sovereignties—The King proposed that the taxes should be voted only by the Assembly of States, and paid by all subjects, equally; but the States, not satisfied with either proposition, loudly demanded in addition the custody of the public chest, which they enjoyed under their old and free constitution. After having voted the supplies, they wished to deal them out piece-meal, as they considered occasion required. This controul over the public money was one of the chief virtues and safeguards of the old Wirtemberg constitution. The King thought this an undue encroachment on the executive, and the *Caisse publique* became a subject of warm contention. At present every thing remains stationary, but unsettled. When the States, after tumultuous discussions, refused the constitution proposed (securing civil and religious liberty, the freedom of the press, and most of those rights which the people generally contend for,) His Majesty had no other course left than to dismiss them. Their violent partizans, whom one now and then meets even in the higher circles, assert that this step was owing to the influence of the ministers of different German powers, who were interested to prevent the acquisition of a free constitution by the Wirtembergers, from an apprehension of the consequences of the example." (P. 330, 331.)

Is there any enthusiast wild enough to deny that the king, in assenting to what was demanded, would have betrayed the

best interests of his people? It is not half a year since a dispute arose between the Grand Duke of Weimar and the assembly of the states. The subject of the quarrel was not a little extraordinary: the sovereign required that their discussions should be public; the assembly insisted on debating with shut doors. The truth is, that the present advocates of popular rights in Germany are the most dangerous enemies of rational freedom, and of public happiness.

A *table d'hôte* is a striking feature in the system of German life.

"A German host presides at the *table d'hôte*, carves the dishes, and dispenses his good cheer and attentions to the guests with a sort of taciturn dignity which is sometimes highly amusing. He has a sort of air of patronage and chuckling importance which reminds one of our English Bonifaces in the times of Chaucer and Shakspeare. The subaltern officers, and other regular frequenters of the table, appear to court his conversation, and to desire to stand well with this important personage—generally a well-fed portly man, who, especially if he happen to be a *State employé*, as Mr. Postmaster of the Station, is well wrapped up in fat official self-complacency. His eldest son has, perhaps, held a commission in the army—Mrs. Postmistress has been, or is still a beauty—or he has a fine family of little ones, who, in such case frequently adorn the walls of the saloon, and whom I have seen introduced in their best dresses after dinner, as if their company must necessarily be as interesting to the guests as that of the children of a friend. If the sons and daughters dine at table, they generally occupy, with their visitors, the best places round papa and mamma—rarely offering civility to any one, talking easily among themselves, and showing, by their whole deportment, that they consider themselves to the full the equals of the father's guests. One of the sons frequently holds the office of *Herr Ober Keller*, (Mr. Upper Waiter,)—the Germans never defrauding this useful personage of his title—who, after waiting upon his sisters and their admirers, in common with the company during dinner, I have seen resign his official napkin, and take a hand at whist with the family friends, which he would not lay down though the bells rang, and "*Herr Keller*" resounded from all corners of the inn." (P. 258—260.)

The exterior of the capital of a second-rate state is well delineated in the few following sentences.

"The metropolis of a minor sovereign of Germany, presents a curious union of splendour and insignificance, a sort of miniature elegance and microscopic grandeur, which is perfectly novel to a foreigner. There is nothing in England that resembles it. Our cities are more antique, interesting, and gloomy—our little towns more mean and plebeian—a neat watering place, with its regular white buildings, its absence of the bustle of trade, and its air of quiet gentility, will perhaps best bear a comparison. The resemblance may be pushed to

the inhabitants, in one single particular—a sort of straitened elegance and economical refinement in the manner of life, which bespeaks persons of better family than fortune." (P. 18.)

We must beg leave to add, however, that there is infinitely more life and bustle in an English watering place than in a German residence town. In the course of a whole day we recollect to have seen only three carriages in the streets of Carlsruhe! you might walk in the principal street for an hour, and not meet half a score of persons. The exterior of these towns, with all their neatness and regularity, is more calculated to excite ennui than the aspect of any other object in the world. Their whole air and appearance seems to inform the visitors, that they are artificial creations emanating from the will of a prince, which never would have existed in the common course of nature. Hanover is an exception—for Hanover has the air of a town, if we may use such a phrase, of natural origin. So far as depends on outward appearance, imagination can picture to itself nothing more dull than Carlsruhe or Darmstadt. The stranger can hardly abstain from regarding them as a larger kind of toy, made for the amusement and gratification of the prince, and which, but for his favour and presence, would soon dwindle into nothing.

The theatre is in every part of Germany an important appendage to the court: the following is a description of the behaviour of the audience.

"The behaviour and manners of a German audience are not calculated to enliven the general gloomy character of the house.—An unruffled stillness pervades all quarters—no one seems above half occupied, and not quite sure whether they are amused.—The applauses are feeble and rare—and I never witnessed the indecorum of a hiss. Madam de Staël mentions, that they reserved their applauses expressly for the end, (I have not generally observed this)—and that Schroder, a great actor, thought this silence the greatest compliment that could be paid him. The compliment appears to me very equivocal, and quite as likely to result from cold appreciation as from the eagerness of attentive admiration.

"The theatre, which forms part of the household of a court, is naturally the scene of a decorum doubly grave and impenetrable. The royal box and the guards jointly keep strict order. The pit and boxes are obliged to suspend their admiration, in order not to anticipate the signal of applause from the Royal Critics. 'That would hang every mother's son of them,' as Bottom says. Lest the spirit of courtiership should not be equally potent among the less elevated part of the audience, they are taught the duties of silence and respect in a style better adapted to their capacities—by tall grenadiers stationed in all parts of the house." (P. 422—424.)

We make this quotation, because it affords us an opportunity of directing the attention of our readers to a subject on which much nonsense has been written: for on no topic, perhaps, has gorgeous metaphysical speculation been more superfluously expended, than in tracing up the passiveness of German audiences to certain supposed peculiarities in the conformation of German character. Even our author, though not liable to be led astray by loose theory, has leaned towards similar notions, in accounting for the stillness with which an opera is listened to in Germany.

"I never heard," says he, "a German audience touched and electrified by a passionate tone, or a melting air; but I have heard half a Theatre shudder with one accord, as if their teeth were set on edge, at the slip of a note in a difficult passage. It is, perhaps, owing to the same difference of their feeling for music that they never *encore* what pleases them. The pleasure of the connoisseur is cold and regulated: that which centres in feeling alone, however little guided by taste, will occasionally overflow with boisterous testimonials of approbation." (P. 421.)

Now the real cause of this quiescence is to be found in the organization of their theatres. The theatre is under the immediate direction of the government; a great part of the expense is defrayed by the sovereign; the performers are hired by him, and are, in the strictest sense of the phrase, his servants; the piece is commonly chosen by him, and in some places (in Dresden for example) corrected for representation with his own hand; the scenic exhibition is, in fact, his, and for him; and it is only by his gracious condescension that his subjects are admitted to participate in the entertainment. Probably, too, one half of the audience consists of his immediate dependants. The spectator dare not, under such circumstances, express disapprobation; and approbation is worth nothing, where disapprobation is not free. The guests at a court dinner might as well claim a right to hiss the prince's cook or servants, as the audience to hiss the singers and actors whom he thinks fit to hire. This was always the state of the theatres, on which the German drama first flourished, especially of those of Manheim and Weimar; it is still the state of the principal theatres of Germany: the few exceptions from it which occur (as perhaps the theatres of Hamburgh, Frankfort, Leipzig), must follow the tone and fashion of the capitals. These circumstances fully explain the peculiar docility and patience of a German audience, without the aid of arbitrary metaphysical assumptions. This docility and patience have exercised on the dramatic literature of the country an influence by no means favourable; and the modification which the drama has thus sustained, has, in its turn,

operated on the general taste of the people. The consequences which have resulted in Germany from the connexion of the theatre with the court, afford a striking illustration of the extensive effects, even in matters apparently very remote, which may flow from the minutest circumstance in the internal economy of a people.

The topics touched upon in this volume are so various, that we cannot even pretend to enumerate them. Every class of readers will find in it something suited to their particular taste. For the lovers of anecdote, there are many interesting traits of living personages, and amusing political and military details. The pictures of Frankfort and its fair, of Wilhelmsbad, Wesbaden, Ems, of German diligences, inns, and balls, will give those who remain quiet at home a very faithful idea of the pleasures which a traveller meets with beyond the Rhine. The lover of description will be gratified by the voyage on the Rhine, and the excursion into the Odenwald. Description of natural scenery, ungraced by the attractions, of poetical numbers, is, in general, very insipid. It stuns us with sonorous words, and gives us no idea of the real scene. This author's descriptions are pleasing, because they aspire only to specifying the object with its most striking features, and never attempt, by vain pomp of words, to express those charms of wood and dale, mountain, plain, and sky, which human language is much too poor to convey.

Part of the business of a traveller is to tell us what he has seen; another part of his duty is to communicate to us general impressions made on his mind, in the course of his intercourse with the people, which it may be impossible for him to refer to the particular circumstances which have produced them. The value of this portion of a book will depend on the justness of the impression itself, and on the elegance and vivacity of the language in which it is expressed. The following extract will show, that in the latter respect at least, the author of this volume is entitled to considerable praise: as to the fidelity of the delineation, there will be no difference of opinion among those who have visited Germany.

"On entering Germany from France, none of the many contrasts which I observed struck me more forcibly than the difference in the women; and a lady of our party, who, though not a French woman, had from long residence in Paris, every prepossession in favour of France, was not less forcibly impressed.—At an inn, near the frontier, instead of the little tripping shrill-voiced wren, in a laced cap partly trimmed round her sharp features and black eyes, who generally assails one at a French inn, a tall, stout, stately girl, with her fine hair drawn back from her forehead, her arms bare, and her well-shaped

legs visible almost to the knee, walked into the room, and asked our commands with a soft obliging manner, and a sort of primitive frankness and grace which delighted our whole party. Her fresh features and fine blond hair looked as if they had escaped from a picture of Rubens—and she had a look of womanly sentiment and character, which you rarely meet with in the *beaux yeux* and *jolies tournures* in the dominions of Louis the Eighteenth. The same contrast has constantly struck me between the women of the higher ranks of the two countries. In a brilliant assembly indeed, where an artificial splendor to a certain degree lends a lustre to every thing, and where the mind as well as the eye is attracted by the gay and the sparkling, a French woman has certainly some advantages.—She is so self-possessed, so dexterous, so happy, so half-satirical, half-sentimental, that the *tout ensemble* keeps her admirer in a sort of flutter which animates all his faculties. A German woman has not half this light and shade and variety of resource; but her silent sentimental softness is much more dangerous to the heart. A French woman is a sort of Beatrice, who perpetually challenges you to a keen encounter of wits, and is generally much more intent on shewing herself a dexterous mistress of her weapons than on making any durable impression. A German woman is more pleased to captivate than to shine—she feels the *besoin d'aimer* much more sensibly than the *besoin de parler*.—Neither her head nor her tongue are active; but her soul speaks involuntarily through her soft eyes—not from the Lydia-Languish sort of sentiment, excited by reading romances after midnight, but from the unresisted impulses of a gentle tender nature.—Her coquetry—(and it must be owned, alas! she sometimes does coquette, as well as the more volatile and sparkling of her sex)—assumes the air of sentiment, and does not glitter and dazzle in graceful gaiety and repartee. A French woman is a sort of town goddess,—a *piquante* ornament of society—made to shine amid lamps, and ottomans, and cachemires—very stimulating in a party to Tivoli—very amusing in eating ices at Tortoni's—but it is impossible to think of her out of Paris. A German woman is a fair fresh nymph of nature, whose image sinks into the heart and connects itself with the fields, the vallies, the song of the groves, and every picturesque and poetical association.—You offer incense to a French woman in neatly turned compliments and pretty *vers de Société*; but a German woman calls forth the language of feeling, and is formed to be wooed by the strains of deep and romantic poesy.” (P. 390—393.)

The situation of German women, is, for the most part, ill suited to their romantic and sentimental character. In the middle ranks of society, the wife is treated as a species of upper servant; and in the higher ranks, she lives very little with her husband. Husband and wife do not meet at breakfast, for breakfast is a solitary meal: and though they probably meet at dinner, that meal is followed by business and amusement, so that a re-union at the dinner-table is not, as with us, a re-union that is to last for the whole or the greater part of the

evening. It is not uncommon for respectable fathers of families to indulge every day in all the luxuries that a casino can afford, while their wife and children fare on a lonely and frugal meal at home. If the standard of female virtue is low in Germany, the cause is to be found in the conduct of the men.

The details contained in this book concerning the state of the German universities, deserve the attention of every reader. One of the most striking, and, for us, most proud and happy, distinctions between England and other countries, is that our universities are the palladium of the existing system of social order, while on the Continent they are hot-beds of sedition, anarchy, and revolt. How often have we heard German parents deplore the approach of the moment, when it would be necessary to expose the hearts and understandings of their sons to the speculative political debauchery of the university. The evil is to be ascribed to the conduct of the professors: they have been the excitors of that spirit, the propagators of those dogmas, which are the bane of Germany. It may be asked, how comes it that so mischievous a spirit has not been long ago extinguished in universities that are wholly dependant on the government? To this question the details contained in the volume now before us, afford a very satisfactory answer. But there is another equally interesting inquiry, which our author has left untouched—how has such a spirit been created, and how is it maintained? The circumstances which produced and still cherish it, are to be found, we think, in the constitution of German society. The principal universities are situated in the dominions of the minor sovereigns. The professors have no hopes of preferment from the court; they have reached their *ne plus ultra* in society. Unless very distinguished talents or accidental favour enable them to surmount the barrier of etiquette, they are excluded from the company of the noble, that is, of nearly all who are in the situation or have enjoyed the education of gentlemen; and there exists no numerous, wealthy, respectable middle class, with whom they may associate. They form, therefore, a separate body, wholly absorbed in their own habits and feelings. Under such circumstances, restlessness and impatience naturally spring up in active minds, together with a spirit of political intolerance, and contempt for whatever does not accord with their pursuits and sympathise with their feelings. Opinions subversive of the existing order find ready adoption; and all that tends to depress what is exalted, is hailed as a public benefit. At the same time the privileged classes do not possess such superiority of wealth as overawes and dazzles. Even the sovereign

is deficient in dignity. The professor of Heidelberg or Jena looks upon his prince as a pigmy among the powers of Europe, and does not stand in the same awe of him as if he were the head of a great empire. These are some of the circumstances which have principally contributed to prepare the soil of Germany for the reception of the baneful seeds of anarchy. We only touch upon the subject. It is one of the deepest interest; and we are the more desirous of directing the attention of our countrymen to it, because the practice of sending the rising youth of England to German universities, is becoming every day more prevalent. The knowledge of the language may be acquired without such a sacrifice; and what is to be gained, beyond a knowledge of the language, by such a course, we are unable to divine. Let any one read our author's delineation (we can bear witness that it is not overcharged) of the conduct, manners, and habits of German students, and let him say, whether such company can be good for English youths? As nothing is said in this volume on the literary merits or demerits of these universities, we beg leave to subjoin the results of our own observation. If the tree is to be tried by its fruits, the German universities will not stand high; for, with the exception of the individuals who devote their lives to literature, knowledge is infinitely more rare among those who have had the benefit of an university education in Germany, than among the same class in England. The women, indeed, are in most parts of Germany superior to the men in mental cultivation. The whole system of these universities is bad. They abound in lectures, and in nothing else. The duty of the student is to hear as many lectures as possible, and to take down in his note-book as many of the words of his professor as his swiftest penmanship can overtake. Some professors read so slowly, making long pauses after every three or four words, that their auditors write down every syllable. He who transcribes at home the notes which he brings from the lecture, has attained to the very *beau ideal* of a student. Often, in one day, the poor youth hears not fewer than six or seven lectures in rapid succession, and finds himself in the evening quite exhausted with his multifarious labours; his brain addled and confused by indistinct jumbled recollections of what he has within the preceding twelve hours heard on antiquities, physiology, civil law, Greek, statistics, modern history, theology, and various other sciences. In this state, and subjected to such discipline, his mind is not likely to exert any spontaneous activity; and there is nothing in the system of the place to stimulate or force it into exertion. To hear and to write, or to seem to hear and to write,



is the only duty of a German student. He need not think he need not even remember. The highest success to which the system aspires, is to send out a youth crammed with the notions of his professors on a variety of subjects, without any intellectual habits whatsoever, except one which is most hostile to all improvement, and subversive of the very end of education—the habit of complete intellectual passiveness. It is but seldom, even that a student carries away with him much information. As he is not taught to exert his faculties, he is never thoroughly penetrated with what he learns. That which he acquires to day lies loose in his mind, and is washed away by the new knowledge contained in to-morrow's lecture, till he is launched into the world, having learned much, but knowing nothing.

The information contained in this volume on the state of religion in Germany, and on the approximation which has been of late years made towards a complete union of the Lutheran and Calvinistic churches, though very interesting, would occupy too much space for an extract, and we must, therefore, refer our readers to the work itself. We conclude our quotations with the following description of a sabbath evening on the banks of the Rhine.

“The bell was sounding for Vespers at Lorsch; and the peasants were slowly moving towards the church, or loitering about in the full enjoyment of rest and a lovely evening. The villages in the Bergstrasse, as we drove through them, were all animated in the gay celebration of Sunday evening. Groups of both sexes, above the lower orders, were either returning early from some place of convivial rendezvous, or lounging under the shade of the fruit trees, which make the road a continued avenue. The beer houses were overflowing with peasants; and the inns, promenades, and gardens, with parties refreshing themselves after their evening's wander in the vineyards, or on the wooded mountains.—There was more gaiety and enjoyment in this close of the Sabbath than we are accustomed to see in England; but the recreation was of an innocent, a rural, and a decorous kind—there was no riotous mirth or noisy excess—the Churches had been well attended in the morning and the afternoon,—and I know not why an innocent dance or a social party under a fine sky, among the luxuriant beauties of nature, should be held offensive to a Creator who is to be worshipped in the enjoyment of his bounties, and with the pure gladness of the heart, as well as in the more solemn thanksgivings of his holy religion.” (P. 159, 160.)

The amusements mentioned here may be very innocent in themselves, but it is not every employment, which is in itself harmless, that is a proper observance of the first day of the week. The sabbath never continues long to be a day of religious worship, where temporal amusements have been once

allowed to encroach upon part of it. The author himself seems elsewhere doubtful of the truth of his remark.

“The pastors and their flocks go on tranquilly, with their sermon and hymns in the morning, their pipe, their waltz, or their opera in the Sunday evening; and no excessive earnestness or spiritual zeal has as yet stimulated the one or the other to an inquiry whether more of the Sabbath was not intended for sacred uses; whether this pleasant recreation from the fatigues of the week is or is not what the commandment intends by a day of rest.” (E. 452.)

We travel to find amusement, to enlarge the mind by the survey of new objects, and to add to our stores of acquired knowledge. We read, or ought to read, books of travels with similar views; and all these ends are well fulfilled by this volume. It is full of amusement; it excites the mind to reflection; it furnishes much valuable information. We observed a few slight inaccuracies in it, but of so trifling a kind, that they have already escaped our recollection. The Grand-Duchess of Baden (the wife of the late Duke) is said to have been a Demoiselle Tascher, and niece of the empress Josephine. She was indeed a niece of Josephine, for she was a daughter of Josephine's brother; but her name was Stephanie de Beauharnois. The Demoiselle Tascher married, if our recollection is correct, the prince d'Aremberg. The text is sometimes unnecessarily interlarded with German words, in which typographical errors now and then occur. Where we have only defects like these to note, our readers will probably think that silence is the best performance of our duty.

ART. XII.—*A Vindication of 1 John v. 7, from the Objections of M. Griesbach, in which is given a new View of the external Evidence, with Greek Authorities for the Authenticity of the Verse, not hitherto adduced in its Defence.* By the Bishop of St. David's. 8vo. Rivingtons. London, 1821.

THE seventh and eighth verses of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St. John are, in the received Greek text of the New Testament, in the words following.

Verse 7.

Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ὁ Πατήρ, ὁ Λόγος, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς ἐν τῷ γῆν.

Verse 8.

Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ ῥημα; καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.

The disputed passage is between the brackets. In our English Testament the seventh and eighth verses run thus: 7. "For there are three that bear record *in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one.* 8. *And there are three that bear witness on earth, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood; and these three agree in one.*" The disputed words are in italics. If the words in dispute be withdrawn as spurious the verse will stand thus:

Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες, τὸ πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οὗτοι τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσιν.

"For there are three that bear record, the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood; and these three agree in one."

The first point particularly to be noticed with respect to the controverted verse is this, that it is found in the ancient liturgies of the Greek and Latin churches, that it was in the Latin Vulgate, was in the confession of faith of the Greek church, and was relied upon by the African bishops in their confession of faith at the council convened by Huperic, the Vandal king, in the latter end of the 5th century; and yet was never controverted until the beginning of the 16th century, when Erasmus published the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament, and the Spanish Divines, under the auspices of Cardinal Ximenes, executed the Complutensian Polyglott, begun in 1517, and completed in 1522. Erasmus having omitted to insert the seventh verse in the first two editions, 1516 and 1519, a dispute arose between him and the Spanish editors, and also one Lee, an Englishman, on the genuineness of the verse, maintained with great vivacity on both sides; and this we believe was the first instance of the public discussion of this great question. Erasmus, it is well known, promised to restore the verse if it could be found in a single Greek manuscript. This occasioned a diligent search, and the Codex Britannicus, since called the Codex Montfortianus, was produced, upon which Erasmus inserted the verse in his edition of 1522. This MS., called the Montfort, Griesbach places in the 15th or 16th century, and Porson has treated it with little respect; but Dr. Adam Clarke and Bishop Burgess have, with more reason, assigned it to the 13th century: and that can hardly be treated as unworthy of our attention which induced Erasmus, after vehemently contending against the verse, to insert it in his edition, published next after its discovery. The MS. is now in the archives of Trinity College, Dublin. We may here add, by the way, that when the hostility existing from the fourth century between the Greek and Latin churches is considered, it cannot be supposed that the Greek church would have adopted this verse, merely on the authority of the Latin version, without any confirmation of it from her own original Greek manuscripts.

The Complutensian editors inserted it; but whether they copied it from MSS., which were the fruit of the great diligence used to procure them at the instigation and cost of Cardinal Ximenes, or adopted it out of pure deference to the Vulgate, by translating it from the Latin, is a point disputed. It must be admitted, that they did not answer the challenge of Erasmus, by producing a single Greek MS., till the Codex Britannicus was discovered, but relied on the authority of the Vulgate.

The verse is inserted in Robert Stephens's edition published in 1550. But the obelus, and the little crotchet or semicircle, his usual marks to signify the omission of a passage from the MS. quoted by him, placed, the one before *ἐν*, and the other after *οὐρανῶ*, and which last the critics say should have been placed after *ἐν τῇ γῇ*, as it never has been pretended that in any Greek MS. the three words *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῶ* only have been found omitted, have neutralized the argument from the insertion of the verse by that learned editor. The verse is inserted in all the editions of the Greek Testament by Beza, the last of which was published in 1598, and also in the Elzevir edition, first printed in 1624 at Leyden. Since whose edition, those of Mill, Bengelius, Wetstein, and Griesbach, have been the most important, all of whom have inserted the verse, but the two last have determined it to be spurious.

We have already mentioned the controversy between Erasmus and his two opponents, Lee, an English ecclesiastic, and Stunica, the Spanish divine, the principal conductor of the Complutensian edition. We pass over the intermediate contests, observing only that its authenticity was maintained by Selden in his *Treatise de Synedriis Ebræorum*; and that Sir Isaac Newton took the contrary side, in a work published under the title of *Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to Mr. Le Clerc*,—and come at once to the controversy started by the author of the *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xxxvii. note 118. Mr. Gibbon there asserts, that “the three witnesses have been established in our Greek Testament by the prudence of Erasmus; the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors; the typographical fraud or error of Robert Stephens in the placing a crotchet; or the deliberate fraud, or strange misapprehension, of Theodore Beza.” The controversy which grew upon this note between Mr. Travis, Archdeacon of Chester, who attacked it in three letters in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and Mr. Porson, who exerted all his powers of criticism and sarcasm on the same side with Mr. Gibbon, and which controversy swelled afterwards into a voluminous war, and brought the Rev. Herbert Marsh, now Bishop of Peterborough, into the field, is too well known to need our exposition. We must not, however, omit to men-

tion the powerful assistance the cause of the disputed verse has received from Ernesti, Bishop Horsley, and Mr. Nolan, to which list many others might be added.

With the powerful sanction and support of these last very able advocates, it is not too much to say, that the verse in question has, of late, been rising in credit. The Bishop of St. David's has, at length, brought his mature knowledge, critical experience, and cool discernment, to bear upon the subject, and it does appear to us that his success has been equal to his pious perseverance.

The Bishop's first object is to exhibit the inconsistency of Griesbach, whom he shows to have conducted the inquiry in a manner contrary to his own maxims of criticism, and his own rules for judging of the true reading of any passage. "In his *Symbolæ Criticæ*," says the Bishop, "the consideration of the *interna bonitas* of a reading precedes that of the external evidence. 'In judicandis lectionibus spectatur primo. interna earum bonitas, quæ plurimis rebus cernitur; secundo testium (codicum, versionum, patrum) antiquorum et bonorum consensus.' But in his diatribe on 1 John, v. 7, he consumes four-and-twenty pages on the testimony of manuscripts, versions, and fathers, and gives a single paragraph of half a page to the internal evidence, introducing it with these words: 'tandem tribus verbis attingimus argumenta interna;' and even of that short paragraph the greater part belongs to the external evidence."

The assertion of Griesbach that the seventh verse rests principally, if not solely, on the authority of Vigilius Tapsensis, is next shown to be without foundation. Vigilius Tapsensis was not the first who clearly quoted the verse; it was distinctly cited by Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons, nearly fifty years before him, and was also expressly appealed to by his contemporaries the African bishops. Griesbach thus speaks himself: "Eucherius, Episcopus Lugdunensis, primus esse putatur qui circa annum 440 aperte verba in dubium vocata excitavit in libro formularum, cap. ii. his verbis: III, (h. e. numerus ternarius) ad Trinitatem (sc. refertur) in Johannis epistola. Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus S., et Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra, Spiritus, Aqua, et Sanguis:" which, as the Bishop observes, is clearly the passage of St. John, though not the whole passage.

Truth derives, at least, great negative support from the inconsistencies of her opponents, and their contradictions of each other. Mr. Porson devolves *the whole labour* of supporting the verse upon Cyprian,\* which, observes the Bishop of St. David's,

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\* See the tenth of his letters to Archdeacon Travis, p. 247.

carries the inquiry, at least, two centuries higher than the time of Vigilius Tapsensis. Again Mr. Porson says, in his sixth letter, "I need not tell you, Sir, because you must deny; nor need I tell the learned, because they cannot but know, that *the chief support of this contested verse is the authority of the Vulgate.*" Here, says the Bishop, we ascend to the end of the second century, the age of Tertullian, who appears, from his writings, to have found the verse in his copy of the Latin version. So far then, continues the Bishop, is it from resting on the authority of Vigilius Tapsensis, that we may consider it as extant in the Latin version, at least as early as the end of the second century. The reasoning which follows, on this head is to this effect:—The admission of the verse uncontroverted, is carried back to within a little more than a century after the death of St. John, when the original writings of the Apostles were read in all the churches. A version of such antiquity is a legitimate evidence of the original text; and of that original the Latin Fathers of the three first centuries could not have been ignorant, for, it is idle to say, as has been asserted, that the Latin Fathers did not understand Greek. Readers of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, as it is known from their writings both Tertullian and Cyprian were, must have understood Greek, and been acquainted, therefore, with the original writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, which were extant in their days. It was an age in which Greek was a language very familiar to men of learning; and nothing more proves its prevalence, than the first promulgation of the Gospel in that language, the most triumphant period of the Roman empire. The testimony of Mill is opposed to the authority of Michaelis, who, upon no rational foundation, had formed a low opinion of the learning of the Latin Fathers.

We cannot help here producing from this truly learned, and, as we presume to think, decisive publication, a specimen which may serve to characterize the reasoning of the most distinguished opponents of the verse. From deeply erudite men, writing on a very recondite question, it is curious to observe how much is taken upon trust as to matters of fact. What such persons as Michaelis and Porson roundly affirm as facts, few are disposed to examine, and few even dare to doubt: but the admirable author of this beautiful little work has both dared to doubt, and proceeded to examine, what his learned experience had taught him to expect, might be vainly, presumptuously, or mendaciously averred by men, however informed, when inflated by adulation, incited by hostile feelings, and rendered careless by the security of habitual command.

"Bengelius admitted all the arguments, which are usually alleged against the verse, and yet he had no doubt of its authenticity. Mi-

chaelis, on the contrary, and Mr. Porson, contend on Bengelius's admissions that the verse is spurious. 'Bengelius,' says Michaelis, 'was by far the most learned of those who have defended the passage; and as he was likewise highly distinguished for his accuracy, and his scrupulous conscientiousness, we may safely take for granted that the charges are true, which this able and honest advocate has admitted.' May we not as safely rely on the decision of this learned, judicious, and conscientious writer *against* those charges, as insufficient to invalidate the evidence of the *Latin version*, and of the *context*? Mr. Porson, in the Preface to his Letters to Archdeacon Travis, enumerates Bengelius's admissions, and draws from them the same conclusion which Michaelis does. 'Bengelius, whose edition was published in 1734, allows, in his note on this passage, that it is in no genuine manuscript; that the Complutensian editors interpolated it from the Latin version; that the Codex Britannicus is good for nothing; that Stephens's semicircle is misplaced; that no ancient Greek writer cites the heavenly witnesses; that many Latins omit them; and that they were neither crased by the Arians, nor absorbed by the *homœoteleuton*. Surely, then, the verse is spurious. No; this learned man finds out a way of escape; the passage was of so sublime and mysterious a nature, that the *secret discipline* of the church withdrew it from the public books, till it was gradually lost. Under what a want of evidence does a critic labour, who resorts to such an argument!'

"If Bengelius had used no other argument for the *authenticity* of the verse, than this reason to account for its *omission*, he must indeed have laboured under a great want of evidence. But the following *lemmata* from his discussion of the subject will show that his persuasion of its genuineness was founded not on *one*, but *many* arguments.

- " § X. Tota horum verborum sententia ex aliis etiam locis minime controversis disci et deduci potest.
- " § XI. Habuit vero in suis codd. hanc periocham *Tertullianus*.
- " § XII. Habuit *Cyprianus*.
- " § XIII. Nec non *Phœbadius*.
- " § XIV. Et *Marcus Celestensis*: et *Marius Victorinus Afer*.
- " § XV. Et apertissime *Eucherius Lugdunensis*.
- " § XVI. Habuit plane *Vigilius* Taplensis cum episcopis illius ætatis in *Africa* non solum Catholicis, sed etiam Arianis.
- " § XVII. Legit hunc versum *Fulgentius*.
- " § XVIII. Legit *Cassiodorus*, *Ambrosius Anbertus*, et alii.
- " § XIX. Habet *Latina* versio antiquissima.
- " § XX. *Augustinus*, vel etiam *Hieronymus*, potius dissimulanter tractaverunt hoc Dictum, quam ignoraverunt.
- " § XXI. Verus 7 post versum 8 legendus est.
- " § XXII. Cliserloribus demum seculis, *Armeni*, atque ipsi *Græci*, hunc versum postliminio receperunt.
- " § XXIII. Remanent tamen vestigia periochæ apud Græcos initio lectæ non contemnenda.
- " § XXIV. Periocha hæc non est Glossa ex allegorico spiritus et aquæ et sanguinis interpretamento conficta.
- " § XXV. Non tam incuria librariorū factum est, ut in monumentis plerisque prætermitteretur hæc periocha, aut dolo Arianorum, quam consilio virorum ecclesiasticorum quorundam.

“ § XXVI. Testimonia Dictum comprobantia se invicem valde confirmant.

“ § XXVII. Nemo tamen, ut nunc est, aut obtrudere alteri Dictum potest aut eripere.

“ § XXVIII. Ex historia Dicti hujus elucet *Θεσις* quoddam, apud eos saltem qui dictum accipiunt; argumentum vero irrefragabile pro Dicto ipse contextus præbet apostolicus.

“ Of two of these evidences (the *Latin version*, xix. and the *context*, xxviii.) Bengelius thus decidedly expresses himself, in his observation on *Lemma* xxvii. ‘Enimvero interpres hic omnibus Græcis codicibus patribusque, quorum hodie quidquam superest, antiquior fuit, et primo hujus epistolæ codici satis propinquus. Interpres is si plane deesset, textus Græcus per se loqueretur, hiatus se habere. Nunc supplementum hiatus, quod datur, etiamsi unicui sit, tamen, quia unice aptum est, amplecti, non credulitatis est, sed fidei et pietatis.’” (P.12—15.)

Mill and Bengelius were of opinion that the verse was extant in the most ancient Greek copies of St. John's Epistle, and they rely on the authority of the old Latin version, and the express citation of the verse by Cyprian. It became necessary, therefore, for the contrary party to invalidate Cyprian's authority, which they have attempted to do by showing that Cyprian meant only to refer to the eighth verse, which he applied, by a mystical interpretation, to the Trinity. This was the late Mr. Porson's observation. Griesbach also thought Cyprian did interpret the verse mystically of the Trinity; but these great men are found very often at variance, when traced through the parts of their several processes of argument, though they appear to have the same end in view. The Bishop of St. David's has chased them into their retreats; he has explored their arcana; and dispersed the spell which had fixed an unbelieving world in the bigotry of a blind trust in great names, and bold assertions, when ranged on the side of infidelity. He shows that this notion of Cyprian's mystical interpretation, which originated with Facundus, a Latin bishop, stood opposed to the authority of Fulgentius, also a Latin Father, of greater weight. Yet Mr. Porson affirms, that Fulgentius himself became acquainted with the verse solely by the means of St. Cyprian, and that he had not seen it himself in the copies of the New Testament. Here Griesbach is in direct opposition to him, who admits that Fulgentius found the verse in his own copy. Still, however, he agrees with Professor Porson, that Cyprian did interpret the eighth verse mystically. On this the Bishop remarks, that “Cyprian, so far from interpreting the eighth verse, does not even quote it, and takes no notice of the *water* and the *blood*, which those Fathers do, who interpret the eighth verse mystically.” The assertion of the present Bishop of Peterborough, in the Preface to his Letters to the Archdeacon Travis, “that the verse was



transplanted from the Latin into the Greek, by order of the Lateran council, in the 13th century," is confuted by the clear showing of the Bishop of St. David's, that the seventh verse was extant in Greek six or seven centuries before the meeting of the Lateran council. It is thus that this little volume observes upon, or rather sums up the case for the verse upon this division of the subject.

"Mr. Porson allows that it might have been in the Latin version from the end of the second century; (Mill, that it was there long before;) but says, that the Latin version was corrupted and interpolated; and this might have been one of its interpolations. As the Latin Fathers of the three first centuries were undoubtedly acquainted with Greek, they must have known, whether the seventh verse was in the original or not; and Cyprian would not have quoted it as *Scripture*, if he had not found it there. It is remarkable, too, that through all the controversies of the second and subsequent centuries respecting the Divinity of Christ, and personality of the Spirit, it was never objected by heretics of any description, that the seventh verse was interpolated in the Latin version." (P. 18, 19.)

We own we could have heard Dr. Carpenter and Mr. Worsley apply the terms "gross interpolation" and "palpable forgery," to the alledged insertion of the verse in question, without being greatly moved; but the Bishop has expressly mentioned the vehement declarations of these and other gentlemen, of the confusion introduced into the passage, by giving the seventh verse a place in it, among the circumstances by which his attention has been indispensably called to the examination of that part of the evidence which Griesbach has so inconsistently neglected—we mean the internal evidence afforded by the context of the passage itself. This evidence could not have appeared to Griesbach to be small in value, if those sage gentlemen, above adverted to, were at all justified in declaring nonsense to be the necessary result of the insertion of the verse; for, if they were right, the verse is gone. Why did he neglect what makes so much for his side of the question? but if he saw that the internal evidence was altogether against him, was it consistent with candour or common honesty not to admit it? And if his mind was made up to this treatment of the internal inquiry on the present occasion, we can only say he was a bad manager of the interests of his own argument, to let a maxim go forth to the world declarative of his clear preference of internal to external evidence in general.

The Bishop of St. David's comes to the conflict, less than any man disposed to argue a subject abstractedly for the sake of victory. He brings nothing to the contest of that malignant joy, which some men experience in detecting the solecisms, mis-

tatements, or inconsistencies of their opponents; but he brings with him the gentle fortitude of a Christian, which shrinks from no encounters, and fears no frowardness of man, when engaged in the defence of our faith: he brings with him, moreover, a head the most furnished of any in this our day with philological learning, and more especially with Greek criticism; and deserves, therefore, to be listened to with the profoundest respect when he enters upon the question of the internal evidence. That which decided Ernesti and Horsley in favour of the disputed verse, was the internal evidence; and Griesbach, in estimating the value of Codex Paulin. 17. in his *Symbolæ Criticæ*, rests principally upon the internal evidence; and in his Preface to his latest work, his *Commentarius Criticus in Nov. Test. Part II.* represents the use of MSS. and his distinction of recensions, as of very secondary consideration, in comparison with the *interna vera falsæ lectionis indicia*. Upon the strength of these testimonies from Griesbach himself, the Bishop is induced to give the first place in the inquiry to the internal evidence: for which purpose, he sets forth in English the whole of the passage with which the controverted verse stands in connexion, as follows:

“6. This is he that came by water and blood, even Jesus Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood; and it is the Spirit that beareth witness, because the Spirit is truth. 7. For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. 8. And there are three that bear witness in earth, the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one. 9. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater: for this is the witness of God which he hath testified of his Son.”

The object of the Holy Apostle in these verses is to show that there is the strongest of all testimony for establishing the fact of the incarnation and redemption. It is announced as the testimony of the Spirit who is truth itself; and this testimony is complete, according to the requisition of the Levitical law, by which the testimony of one witness was not held to be sufficient. (John viii. 13, 17.) “In the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established,” (2 Cor. xiii. 1;) and therefore to the testimony of the Spirit is added that of the Father and the Son. There are, therefore, *three* that bear record. The Spirit did not bear witness because it was truth; but is declared to be truth, or a true witness, because it is one of the *three* Divine witnesses. The Bishop therefore thinks that *ΟΤΙ*, in the sixth verse, should be *ΚΑΙ*, as it is read in the Neapolitan MS. 83, and accordingly should run thus: *Και το Πνευμα εστι το μαρτυρον και το Πνευμα εστιν η αληθεια*. And it is the Spirit that beareth witness, and the Spirit is truth: for there are *three* that

bear record, i. e. his testimony is true, because, if the strictness of human evidence be insisted upon, he is to be believed as being one of three witnesses; and it is remarkable, that, in the 9th verse, reference is again made to the testimony of men. The Bishop shows the repetition of *καὶ* to be familiar to John, and refers to verses 22, 23, 24, of the fourth chapter of his first Epistle.

The next point which the Bishop makes upon the internal evidence is the following: If the words to which objection is made as being interpolated be omitted, the reading would be *Τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες τὸ Πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ αἷμα*; and thus *Πνεῦμα*, which when it occurs in verse 6 has a neuter participle *μαρτυροῦν*, in the eighth verse, where it is accompanied with two other neuter nouns, most unexpectedly and solecistically, says the Bishop, is connected with a masculine participle, *μαρτυροῦντες*. Restore the seventh verse, and then, when the word *μαρτυροῦντες* first occurs, it stands related to *Πνεῦμα* it is true, but to *Πνεῦμα* in conjunction with two masculine nouns, *Ὁ Πατήρ*, and *Ὁ Λόγος*; and being by signification masculine, though in form neuter, the masculine participle may agree with it by a legitimate and natural construction, and thus being one of the three *μαρτυροῦντες* in verse 7, though in connection with neuter nouns in the eighth, the same construction is retained; and the masculine participle follows as by attraction.

Again, if the omission of the seventh verse is conceded, the *ἐν* that now first occurs will be gone, and with it the object of reference by which the use of the article *τὸ*, prefixed to the second *ἐν*, is accounted for. The words which close the eighth verse are not *ἐν εἰσι*, nor *εἰς ἐν εἰσι*, but *εἰς τὸ ἐν εἰσι*. Our readers may, perhaps, not all be acquainted with the very judicious observations of Dr. Middleton, now the Bishop of Calcutta, on the construction of this verse, in his valuable Treatise on the Doctrine of the Greek Article. We think, therefore, that we do some service to society in directing attention to it. They will find, that though that learned philologist gave up the verse most obsequiously, and with little or no discussion of the great points of the argument, he could see no way of escape from the pressure of the inference to be drawn from the words *τὸ ἐν* in the final clause of the eighth verse: he cannot satisfy himself that St. John would have written *εἰς τὸ ἐν* in verse eighth supposing the seventh verse not to have preceded. He finds no instance, and certainly there is none in the scriptures, of the same use being made of the article *τὸ* as occurs in the works of the Greek philosophers, where simple entity, or abstraction, or ideality is to be expressed. The passages adduced by Mr. Porson from the Fathers and others, wherein the Trinity is treated of or alluded to, and who may be supposed to

have adopted the spirit of scripture phrasology, are neutralized as examples by the learning of Dr. Middleton, who at length declares himself to think that the only alternative left is the possibility that the article in *εἰς τοῦ* may be *spurious*, or even that the whole final clause of verse 8 may be an interpolation. "It is then," he adds, "barely possible that the *article* may be *spurious*." But then he owns that "the authorities are in general hostile to such a supposition." All that the Bishop of Calcutta offers of his own on the subject tends most powerfully to support what he pusillanimously yields up at the conclusion of his remarks, solely as it would appear in deference to great names. He appears to us not to have been quite aware of the good and great names who have ranged themselves on the side of the verse. And we trust that when he shall have perused our Bishop's excellent Treatise he will be desirous of coming over to his standard, where he will find associates of whom he need not be ashamed, unless he thinks the names of Pearson, Stillingfleet, Bull, and Horsley, Mill, Bengelius, Grabe, and Ernesti, less distinguished or deservedly great, than those of Griesbach, Michaelis, Gibbon, Porson, and Dr. Marsh.

The Bishop comments also upon the circumstance of the earthly evidences being limited to three, for which no reason appears, as they might have been multiplied to an indefinite amount, unless we refer it to a natural and obvious parallelism. If the seventh verse had not preceded, it is probable, says our author, that the water and blood would not have been mentioned as witnesses. The Bishop then alludes to the argument from the mode of thinking and expression peculiar to St. John, and the affinity between the doctrine of the Epistle and the Gospel of that Evangelist.

"The grammar and reasoning of the context require the seventh verse. The *conjunctive* particle, which, in the Syriac version, introduces the testimony of the Spirit, the water, and the blood, betrays the loss of the preceding clause. The words *in terra* in those Latin copies, which omit the 7th verse, indicate the absence of the verse, which contained their correspondent terms. The article of the eighth verse refers to a *previous union* of testimony; and the testimony of God the Father, in the ninth verse, implies a previous mention of the Father. When Christ speaks of himself in the Gospel, (John v. 31.) he confirms his own testimony by that of the Father. He does not, on that occasion, mention the Spirit, but he there twice appeals to the testimony of the Father. The witness, therefore, in the ninth verse, is that of the Father; and its reference is to the Father in the seventh verse.

"Whatever therefore may have been the cause of its omission in all Greek Manuscripts that are extant but one, it is clear from the internal evidence of the verse,—from the *mode of thinking* and *diction* expressed

in the verse, as well as from the *scope* and *context* of the passage,—that the verse is the authentic language of St. John, and an essential part of the Epistle; and that without it the passage becomes disjointed, defective in its references, and inexplicably solecistical." (P. 27, 28.)

The omission of this verse may have been contrived by those heretics who have mutilated other parts of St. John's writings; or, as Mr. Nolan asserts, by Eusebius; or it may have been caused, as Bengelius affirms, "consilio virorum ecclesiasticorum quorundam," but it may be very naturally accounted for by what is called the *homoeoteleuton*, viz. by the recurrence of the word *μαρτυρουντες*. The intermediate clause might have been thus undesignedly omitted through an oversight in the transcribers. What tends to confirm this mode of accounting for the omission of the verse, is the singular fact, that two similar oversights appear to have been made by the transcribers of the Æthiopic and Neapolitan MSS. in the sixth verse, which in our received copies runs as follows: *Και το Πνευμα εστιν η αληθεια, οτι τρεις, &c.* Here the recurrence of the *οτι* seems to have occasioned the omission of the intermediate clause between the first and second *οτι* in the Æthiopic MS. which thus exhibits the text; *και εν τω πνευματι εστιν ο μαρτυρων, οτι τρεις, &c.* In the Neapolitan MS. the first clause of the fifth verse is omitted, and the verse begins thus: *και το Πνευμα εστιν η αληθεια οτι τρεις, &c.* from which the Bishop infers that the original copy whence this MS. was transcribed exhibited the text thus, *Και το Πνευμα εστι το μαρτυρον και (not οτι) το Πνευμα εστιν η αληθεια*, and that the omission of the first resulted from the homoeoteleuton or repetition of the *και*.

The external evidence is divided by the Bishop into three periods. 1. From the death of St. John to the end of the third century. 2. From the beginning of the fourth century to the end of the ninth. 3. From the beginning of the tenth century to the date of the first printed edition of the Greek text of the New Testament in the early part of the sixteenth.

The first period, that is, of the first three hundred years, contains no evidence against the verse; for there is no Greek MS. of that period. The oldest Greek copy extant (we are taking the Bishop's words), is of much later date than the ancient Latin version of the western church, and the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, who made use of it:

The evidence on which the Bishop chiefly relies is the existence of a sect called Alogi, during this period, who denied the doctrine of the *Λογος*, and, therefore, as Epiphanius informs us, rejected the writings of St. John. In his catalogue of rejected writings, however, Epiphanius omits the Epistles of St. John; and in another place, he acknowledges a doubt to exist whether

these writings were involved in the sentence of exclusion, but at the same time expresses his conviction that they were so; συναδασται γαρ αυτοι τω Ευαγγελιω και τη Αποκαλυψει. The object of the Bishop here is to show that the Epistles were rejected by the Alogi, and rejected on account of the controverted verse. In his mode of establishing this point, however, his argument seems in one place to border too much on the *petitio principii*; "Epiphanius says generally," he observes, "that the Alogi rejected the writings of St. John because they denied the Divinity of the Λογος. They must, therefore, have rejected the Epistles in which that doctrine is more fully asserted than in the Gospel or Apocalypse." The argument of the Bishop in this place is not altogether conclusive and satisfactory; for if the Alogi did reject the Epistle, they might have rejected it *solely* on account of the three first verses of the first chapter. Thus far, however, the cause of the controverted verse is certainly assisted, that, since it contains what may most properly be termed the doctrine of the Logos, and since it was the doctrine of the Logos which induced the Alogi to reject St. John's writings, there is a strong probability that this verse might be one cause of their offence; and it is observable that when Epiphanius speaks of the similarity between the Epistles and the Gospel of St. John, it is this verse only of the Epistles which agrees with the Gospel in using the term "Word," alone. In the second verse of the first chapter of this Epistle the expression is "Word of life."

To the evidences of this period the Bishop adds two from Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian, which, if not quotations from 1 John v. 7. appear, he says, to be founded upon it; for which, however, we must refer to the book itself. Thus with respect to the first period, the argument runs as follows: the internal evidence extends of course through all the periods; there is no external evidence against it, there being no Greek MS. then extant, and there is the Latin version preserved by the African Church, besides the probable inference deducible from the rejection of St. John's Epistles by the Alogi. •

In the second period, the great argument of the opponents of the verse is grounded on the omission of it by all the Greek manuscripts of that period, now in being, which are four in number, viz. the Alexandrine, the Vatican, the Passionei, and one of Matthæi's. The Bishop's first evidence, ranged under this period, is the complaint made by the author of the prologue to the "Canonical Epistles," of the deficiency of some Latin copies of his day, giving, for example, their omission of the testimony of the three heavenly witnesses, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. This prologue to the Epistles was written, according to Mill and Bengelius, in the 6th century, and,

according to the present Bishop of Peterborough, in the 7th or 8th. Walafrid Strabo, who wrote, in the 9th century, a comment on the verse, not then in dispute, and on the prologue to the Epistles, directs his readers to correct the errors of the Latin by the Greek. We cannot refrain, here, from remarking on the unfaithful manner of making their quotations in practice among the adversaries of the verse. The Bishop of St. David's has produced some very striking instances, with his characteristic forbearance from all asperity of censure. We may be allowed, perhaps, a little more plain speaking. The author of the prologue to the Epistles complains, as we have seen, of the omission of the testimony of the witnesses in the Latin version; this the Bishop of Peterborough has laid hold of with avidity, in his letters to Archdeacon Travis, stating as much from the prologue as was sufficient for his purpose in establishing the simple fact of the omission of the verse by the Latin version of that time, but taking care not to let it appear, that what the author of the prologue really complains of, is the unfaithfulness of the Latin translators, in not following the Greek original. The passage is so strong, that we cannot feel satisfied without extracting the whole page from the volume before us.

“ In the Preface to his Letters to Archdeacon Travis, the Bishop of Peterborough has the following remark: ‘ That the verse was not in the *Latin* manuscripts, when the Prologue to the First Epistle of St. John was written, is *certain*; for the author of it, whoever he was, probably a writer of the seventh or eighth century, makes a complaint on this very subject, saying of the authors of the Latin version: ‘ *Trium tantum vocabula, hoc est, aquæ, sanguinis, et spiritus, in sua editione ponentes, et Patris, Verbiq̃ue, et Spiritus testimonium omittentes.*’ The writer of the Prologue complains of the unfaithfulness of the Latin translators in not following the Greek original; and exemplifies his complaint by their *omission of the testimony* of the three heavenly witnesses, the Father, the Word, and the Spirit. The whole passage deserves to be quoted. ‘ *Quæ (epistolæ,) si sicut ab eis (Græcis) digestæ sunt, ita quoque ab interpretibus fideliter in Latinum verterentur eloquium; nec ambiguitatem legentibus facerent, nec sermonum sese varietas impugnaret, illo præcipue loco, ubi de unitate Trinitatis in prima Johannis epistola positum legimus: in qua etiam ab infidelibus translatoribus multum erratum esse a fidei veritate comperimus, trium tantummodo vocabula, hoc est, aquæ, sanguinis et spiritus in ipsa sua editione ponentibus; et Patris, Verbiq̃ue, ac Spiritus omittentibus; in quo maxime et fides Catholica roboratur, et Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una Divinitatis substantia comprobatur.*” (P. 35, 36.)

The Bishop of St. David's is surely warranted in considering the testimony of the author of the Prologue to be of equal strength to prove, that the seventh verse was found in the Greek

manuscripts of that period, as that it was omitted in the Latin versions. He thinks, indeed he has arrived at a certainty, that the controverted verse was extant in Greek manuscripts of the sixth or seventh centuries; and we really are inclined to be of the same opinion. It is quite clear that some Latin manuscripts contained the verse, and some did not. Facundus, who was contemporary with the writer of the Prologue, had not the verse in his copy; but Fulgentius, Cassiodorus, Vigilius Tapsensis, the African Bishops at the Council of Carthage, and Eucherius, certainly, says our Bishop, had it in theirs. But the African church, from Tertullian to Fulgentius, was the depository of the ancient Latin version, which contained the verse. This authority, indeed, would be much impaired, if it were true, as has been affirmed, that St. Augustin was generally followed in applying the 8th verse to the Trinity. If this were true, it would follow that the generality of the African fathers knew nothing of the 7th verse. This assertion has, however, been well encountered by the Bishop of St. David's. Facundus, who seems not to have had the 7th verse in his copy, applied, as Augustin had done, the 8th verse, mystically, to the Trinity. He was the last of the African fathers, and was the only one who adopted this interpretation. The Bishop of St. David's is extremely successful in his exposure, as we have before remarked, of the great unfairness of the opponents of the verse, in their manner of citing authorities, and we think he has brought home this charge very effectually to the late Mr. Porson. We will produce a passage, in which the spirit by which that gentleman was actuated, is made strikingly to appear.

"In this passage Mr. Porson says, that 'Fulgentius fairly confesses that he became acquainted with this verse *solely by the means of Cyprian*.' I can find in these words no trace of such confession, but the very reverse. And so the words of Fulgentius were understood by Griesbach, who says, that Fulgentius 'evidently had the seventh verse in his own copy, and therefore could not suspect that Cyprian's *tres unum sunt* rested on the mystical interpretation of the eighth, but was convinced that Cyprian also had the seventh verse in his copy.' Fulgentius, who had the verse in his copy of the Scriptures, asserts that Cyprian quoted it from the Scriptures.

"In another passage, Mr. Porson says: 'Fulgentius being aware of an objection, that the verse was not then extant in St. John's Epistle, shields himself under the authority of Cyprian.' This is all mistake, undoubtedly. Fulgentius quotes St. John as his *authority* for the doctrine, and Cyprian as *holding the same faith*. Testatur Joannes—confitetur Cyprianus. It is St. John that testifies; Cyprian only follows his testimony. Fulgentius here quotes St. John as independently of any other authority, as he does in the fragment contra Fabianum et adv. Pintam. In the former he says, Beatus vero Joannes



Apostolus evidenter ait, *Et tres unum sunt* ; quod de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto dictum, sicut superius cum rationem flagitares, ostendimus. In the latter : In Epistola Joannis *Tres sunt in cælo, qui testimonium reddunt; Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus : et hi tres unum sunt.*

"Fulgentius evidently does not allegorize the eighth versc. But neither does Cassiodorus nor Vigilius Tapsensis, who quote *both* verses ; nor Eucherius, though Emlyn, Griesbach, Mr. Porson,\* and the Bishop of Peterborough, think he does. Emlyn says that Eucherius explains *aqua, sanguis et spiritus*, of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. The Bishop of Peterborough, that "Eucherius explains *aqua* of *Pater*, 'and *spiritus* of *spiritus sanctus*.' Mr. Porson, that the mystical interpretation of the eighth verse was 'expressly maintained by Eucherius.' This opinion respecting Eucherius's allegorical interpretation seems to have arisen from misquotations of his words. The words of Eucherius are thus incorrectly quoted by Griesbach : Ad Quæstionem, quid significetur Joannis verbis : *Tria sunt, quæ testimonium perhibent aqua, sanguis, et spiritus ? Respondetur : Videri Joannem respicere ad locum Evangelii, cap. 19. 34, de aqua et sanguine e latere Christi profluente, collatis verbis : inclinato capite tradidit spiritum. Quosdam vero aquam explicare de baptismo, sanguinem de martyrio, spiritum de eo ipso, qui per martyrium transit ad Dominum. Plures tamen hic ipsam mystica interpretatione intelligere Trinitatem : aqua Patrem, sanguine Christum, spiritu autem spiritum sanctum manifestante. The chief defect of this quotation is in the omission of the important word *Mihi* at the beginning of the passage, which distinguishes *Eucherius's* own opinion from the *two other* opinions, which are afterwards mentioned. Griesbach does not appear to have taken his quotations immediately from the original, but from some other source, which seems to have misled him and the other opponents of the verse into the opinion, that Eucherius applied the eighth verse allegorically to the Trinity. The words, with which Griesbach's quotation commences, stand thus in the original : *Simile huic loco etiam illud MIHI videtur, quod ipse in Evangelio suo de passione Christi loquitur, dicens, unus militum lancea latus ejus aperuit, &c. Eucherius states three opinions respecting the interpretation of the eighth verse ; his own, referring it to the crucifixion, (which was also the opinion of Cassiodorus ;) that of certain others, who understood it of baptism, &c. ; and lastly, the opinion of the plures, who interpreted it mystically of the Trinity. MIHI videtur—QUIDAM ergo—PLURES tamen. Whoever these *quidam* and *plures* were, it is clear that Eucherius was not 'one of the *plures*, who embraced the mystical interpretation.'*" (P. 42—45.)*

The reason which the Bishop gives for St. Augustin's having mystically interpreted the 8th verse, is this—he understood "unum" to signify "unity of essence." It was impossible for him to interpret it literally, consistently with that meaning. It could not be said that the *spirit*, the *water*, and the *blood* were one in essence ; and he therefore, applied it to the only *three* that are *one in essence*.

Having thus shown the strength of the evidence during the

two first periods, the Bishop deems it almost unnecessary to enter upon the third, (901—1522.) It belongs, however, to this period to state, that it affords one Greek manuscript, containing the controverted verse; and that this MS was considerably more ancient than Griesbach or Mr. Porson supposed it to be. The character of the Montfort MS. is not at all essential to the support of the verse; but the Bishop satisfactorily shows, on the authority of Clemens Alexandrinus, and Origen, that the omission of the articles usually prefixed  $\text{ἐν Πάτρει, Υἱός, and Πνεύματι,}$  is no warrant for the asseveration, that it was a bungling translation from the Latin, made for the purpose of deceiving Erasmus. The great probability is, that this manuscript was the production of the thirteenth century, which places it above the age of many manuscripts which are made to testify against the genuineness of the disputed verse.

Upon the whole view of the subject, the Bishop declares that no room is left in his mind to doubt, "that we have, in the testimony of the three heavenly witnesses, the authentic words of St. John." Those who are acquainted with the Christian candour and modesty of the Bishop of St. David's, coupled with his profound learning, and long exercised critical talents, will not think it a slight argument of the personal and authoritative kind, that this eminent and amiable prelate has expressed his own conviction in these decided and unqualified terms. With us, we must confess, the value of the Bishop's individual authority and subscription outweighs a multitude of hostile names; but we think, honestly and sincerely, that he has, with his tempered armour, and his potent lance, achieved a noble victory in this much contested field. We are among those who think, that the glorious mystery of the Trinity stands independent of this verse, or of any single verse or single chapter of the New Testament; still we can not but feel the transcendent worth of a passage that expresses the doctrine in characters as lucid as if written with a sun-beam. This little volume completes that series of successful efforts, by which the Bishop of St. David's has been permitted, by the grace of Him for whose glory he has long faithfully travelled, to throw another rampart about our Church and holy faith, for establishing the promise of its eternal duration. In saying thus much, we are only paying a just tribute to high worth; but it is not all that we owe; we are bound in gratitude to add, that in the Bishop of St. David's we have the rare instance of a man engaged in the profoundest researches, without being immersed in them; pursuing the severest inquiries, without the loss or diminution of one special or kind quality; and practically illustrating, by his example, that pure divinity, of which, under God, he is a most successful interpreter and defender.



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Page 390, line	2, from bottom,	<i>omit</i> Lat.
394, —	7,	top, <i>for</i> 600 <i>read</i> 500.
402, —	2, 4, 6,	<i>ditto</i> , <i>for</i> Mæris <i>read</i> Mæris.
414, —	6,	<i>ditto</i> , <i>omit</i> both.
414, —	7,	<i>ditto</i> , <i>omit</i> and Sir Isaac.
416, —	11,	<i>ditto</i> , <i>for</i> seven <i>read</i> sevens.
418, —	3,	bottom, <i>for</i> Sair <i>read</i> Seir.









